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Munsell's
Historical Series.
No. IV.

DIARY

OF THE

Siege of Detroit

IN THE

WAR WITH PONTIAC.

ALSO A

Narrative of the Principal Events of the Siege, by Major ROBERT ROGERS;

A

Plan for Conducting Indian Affairs, by Colonel BRADSTREET;

AND OTHER

AUTHENTICK DOCUMENTS,

NEVER BEFORE PRINTED.

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY *FRANKLIN B. HOUGH.*

Albany, N. Y.:
J. MUNSELL, 78 STATE STREET.
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TO

J. Carson Brevoort, Esq.

OF BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SIR:

THE Contemporary Records of the Hoſtilities which followed the Surrender of Canada in 1760, *muſt ever poſſeſs an unuſual Degree of Intereſt, as illuſtrating the Indian Character, and the Succeſs of the Line of Policy adopted by the French in their Northern Colonies of America, as contraſted with that of the Engliſh.*

Having early acquired an intimate Knowledge of the Interiour, by a Series of enterpriſing Explorations, the French adopted a rational Method of ſecuring the Benefits to be derived from a Monopoly of the Indian Trade, and with ſuch Succeſs that the Friendſhip they gained could not be annulled

nulled by Treaties, or readily aſſigned to a Nation whom they had been taught to hate.

Deceived by the Statements of zealous Partizans in the French Intereſts, the Natives fondly hoped for the Return of their ancient Allies to Power, and in the Ardour of their Enthuſiaſm they ſought to merit returning Favours by anticipating the Arms of France in the Reconqueſt of the Country, and the Expulſion of the Engliſh.

The Journal and Documents here printed, from their undoubted Authenticity and great Diverſity of Subject, are believed to offer a valuable Addition to our previous Knowledge of the Events attending the Indian Wars of 1763; *and the Publiſher, by inſcribing theſe Pages to a zealous and diſcriminating Student of American Hiſtory, has the Gratification of believing that his own Labours for the Extenſion of Hiſtorical Literature have met with an intelligent Approval.*

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INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Engliſh found themſelves Maſters of Canada, by the Capitulation of Montreal in September, 1760, the French retained a Place in the Memory of the Indian Tribes which could not be alienated by Treaties; and this Regard, which was gained by a long Series of kind Offices and well-timed Preſents, was ſtrengthened rather than diminiſhed by the Neglect and Ill-uſage which theſe Sons of Nature received at the Hands of the Engliſh.

There was no longer any European Rival to contend againſt; no Competition exiſted for the Monopoly and Profits of the Indian Trade, and no Riſk of an Alliance with any civilized Power, to moleſt the long Frontier which had through many Years been deſolated with Fire, and kept in Mourning by the cruel Hand of a lurking Enemy. The Motives for cultivating the Friendſhip of the Indians, which had been dictated by

by Policy, no longer exiſted, and thoſe of Humanity and common Juſtice ſoon proved inadequate to ſecure thoſe Favours which the Natives had long been accuſtomed to receive from the Whites, and which the Introduction of the Weapons and ſome of the Arts, if not the Vices, of Civilization, had to a certain Degree rendered neceſſary to their Comfort and Contentment.

It was impoſſible for them to fall back upon the Uſe of the Bow and Arrow, and the Club, after having become accuſtomed to Fire Arms, and the only Means of their procuring theſe Articles which had thus been made neceſſary to their Exiſtence, was from the Engliſh, now ſole Maſters of the Country, upon ſuch Terms and with ſuch Sacrifices as unprincipled Traders or haughty military Officers might exact or permit, and if any Grievance aroſe there was no longer an Appeal to a friendly Ear, or Hope of better Times for themſelves or their Children.

It will be remembered that the French ſtill retained Command of the Poſts upon the Miſſiſſippi; that moſt of the Inhabitants of this Nation, who were ſcattered around the military Poſts in the Interiour, garriſoned by Engliſh Troops, were ſtill living in Terms of Intimacy with the Indians, and although yielding a formal Allegiance to their new Maſters, were ſtill national in Language and in Heart, and finally that French Miſſionaries and Emiſſaries were ſtill living in the Indian Villages throughout the Country. The War between France

France and England, although ſettled in North America, was ſtill raging in Europe, and a Series of ſucceſſful Operations in the old World, might have ſtill enabled the French to claim the Relinquiſhment of Canada, as one of the Conditions of Peace, as had occurred but a few Years previous in the Reſurrender of Louiſburgh, upon the Iſland of Cape Breton, after its Capture by New England Troops.

If in addition to theſe we remember, that the Indians had been taught by their French Allies, that the Grand Monarch of France was ſcarcely leſs Omnipotent than Deity, that he loved his red Children and would ultimately protect them,—and that greatly perverted Accounts of the true Relations exiſting between the two Countries were circulated among the Indians, we ſhall have ſufficient Reaſons to account for the War which devaſtated the Frontiers in the Summer of 1763, and in which Pontiac, the great Ottawa Chief, acted ſo conſpicuous a Part.

Sir William Johnſon, whoſe Opportunities for knowing Indian Affairs were unſurpaſſed, and whoſe Judgment is entitled to the higheſt Reſpect in every thing that concerns theſe People, thus wrote to the Lords of Trade at the Period under Conſideration:

"Without any Exaggeration, I look upon the North-
"ern Indians to be the moſt formidable of any unci-
"vilized Body of People in the World. Hunting and
"War are their ſole Occupations, and the one quali-
fies

"fies them for the other; they have few Wants, and "thoſe are eaſily ſupplied; their Properties of little "Value, conſequently Expeditions againſt them, how-"ever ſucceſſful, cannot diſtreſs them, and they have "Courage ſufficient for their Manner of fighting, the "Nature and Situation of their Countrys require not "more.

"As the French well knew the Importance of the "Indians, they wiſely took Advantage of our Neglect, "and altho' they were not able to effect a proper Re-"conciliation with the Six Nations, took Care to cul-"tivate a good Underſtanding with the Weſtern In-"dians, which the Safety of their Colony, and their "ambitious Views of extending their Bounds, rendered "indiſpenſably neceſſary; to effect this, they were at "an immenſe Expence in buying the Favour of the "Indians.

"On the Reduction of Montreal, whereby the Fron-"tiers claimed by Canada were ceded to His Majeſty, "I thought it prudent to ſend Mr. Croghan, one of "my Deputys, with the Troops, who were to take "Poſſeſſion of Detroit, etc., whereby I reconciled the "Change to the neighbouring Indians, then in Arms "againſt us, and the next Year went in Perſon to "Detroit, where I held a Conference with the ſeveral "neighbouring Nations, the Particulars of which will "appear from my Tranſactions laſt Year tranſmitted "to your Lordpps; but apprehenſive that our occupy-

ing

"ing theſe Outpoſts would never be approved of,
"unleſs the Indians ſhared our Favours, as they had
"been accuſtomed to thoſe of the French, I repreſented
"to the Commander-in-Chief, the neceſſity of weaning
"them therefrom gradually, as well as the repeated
"Accounts I had conſtantly tranſmitted me of the
"Uneaſineſs amongſt the Indians, and my Apprehen-
"ſions thereon.

"The Indians of the Ottawa Confederacy (& who
"begun the preſent War) and alſo the Six Nations,
"however their Sentiments may have been miſrepre-
"ſented, all along conſidered the northern Parts of
"North America as their ſole Property, from the Be-
"ginning; and although the Conveniency of Trade
"(with fair Speaches and Promiſes) induced them to
"afford both us and the French, Settlements in their
"Country, yet they have never underſtood ſuch Set-
"tlement as a Dominion, eſpecially as neither we, nor
"the French ever made Conqueſt of them; they have
"even repeatedly ſaid at ſeveral Conferences in my
"Preſence, that 'they were amuſed by both Parties with
"Stories of their upright Intentions, and that they
"made War for the Protection of the Indians' Rights,
"but that they plainly found it was carried on, to ſee
"who would become Maſters of what was the Property
"of neither the one nor the other.' The French in
"order to reconcile them to theſe Encroachments,
"loaded them with Favours, and employed the moſt

"intelligent Agents, of good Influence, as well as art-
"ful Jeſuits, amongſt the ſeveral weſtern and other
"Nations, who by Degrees prevailed on them to admit
"of Forts, under the Notion of Trading Houſes, in
"their Country; and knowing that theſe Poſts could
"never be maintained contrary to the Inclinations of
"the Indians, they ſupplied them thereat with Ammu-
"nition and other Neceſſaries in abundance, as alſo
"called them to frequent Congreſſes, and diſmiſſed
"them with handſome Preſents; by which they en-
"joyed an extenſive Commerce, obtained the Aſſiſt-
"ance of theſe Indians, and poſſeſſed their Frontiers in
"Safety; and as without theſe Meaſures, the Indians
"would never have ſuffered them in their Country, ſo
"they expect that whatever European Power poſſeſſes
"the ſame, they ſhall in ſome meaſure reap the like
"Advantages. Now, as theſe Advantages ceaſed,
"on the Poſts being poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and
"eſpecially as it was not thought prudent to indulge
"them with Amunition, they immediately concluded
"we had Deſigns againſt their Liberties, which Opin-
"ion had been firſt inſtilled into them by the French,
"and ſince promoted by Traders of that Nation and
"others who retired amongſt them on the Surrender of
"Canada and are ſtill there, as well as by Belts of
"Wampum and other Exhortations, which I am con-
"fidently aſſured have been ſent amongſt them from the
"Illinois, Louiſiana and even Canada, for that Purpoſe."

The

The Treatment which the Indians were accuſtomed to receive from the Engliſh Traders has been ſpecified by Sir William Johnſon.[1]

"The Frontier Traders, ſenſible they have little to "apprehend from their Conduct, went ſtill greater and "more dangerous Lengths than their Superiours; from "a Variety of unheard of Frauds, I ſhall ſelect a very "few Inſtances which will tend to ſhew to what Lengths "ſome of that Character will go when ſubject to no "Controul, and becauſe two of theſe Inſtances were "the Occaſion of our loſing the Trade and Affections "of ſome powerful Tribes of the Ottawaes, who were "perſuaded to come the Length of Oſwego to Trade 'with us, and the laſt Inſtances cauſed the Defection "of the moſt powerful Tribes of the Senecas.

"Several of the Ottawaes having traded for a con- "ſiderable Time at Oſwego, where they got ſome Arti- "cles which they could not procure from the French, "an Ottawa Chief of great Influence with his Family, "brought his Packs to a Trader there, in order to try "the Market; the Trader, after the uſual Practice of "deceiving him in the Weight, hurried the Peltry into "a private Room, telling the Indian that all Mer- "chandize was very dear, owing to the Severity of "Dutys (a ſtale, but dangerous Artifice ſtill practiſed) "deſired him to chooſe out what Goods he wanted; "the Indian having made a Choice, was aſtoniſhed to

[1] Col. Hiſt. of N. Y., VII, 955.

find

" find that his Skins produced not one third of what
" he had been accuſtomed to receive for the like Quan-
" tity (for the Trader had beſides his Extortion on
" the Goods reckoned the Peltry at only one third of
" its real Weight) went away diſcontented, but return-
" ing ſaid, he was aſhamed to go back with ſuch ſmall
" Returns, and begged for a ſmall Keg of Rum,
" which the Trader gave him, as he ſaid, as a high
" Favour, but on opening the Keg ſoon after his De-
" parture it proved to be Water. Another Trader for
" ſome valuable Furrs, which he received from an Ottawa
" Chief of great Influence, who came likewiſe to try
" the Market, and deſired to have his Returns in Rum
" for a general Feaſt, gave the Indian 30 ſmall Kegs with
" Directions not to open them by the Way, otherwiſe
" the Trader would be puniſhed for letting them have
" ſo much; but the Indian before his Return to Nia-
" gara, being deſirous of ſome Liquor, opened them
" and found them all Water. This has been often
" acknowledged by theſe Traders, and on its coming
" to the Knowledge of the French, they made ſo good
" a Uſe of it, that theſe People and all their Friends
" were ever after our moſt implacable Enemies. The
" next Inſtance is that of a Seneca Warriour, whoſe Influ-
" ence and Abilities were ſo well known, that I found it
" a very hard Taſk to bring them over, which however
" I at length effected in 1756, when he came to me
" with a large Party of Warriours, who were to ſet out

on

"on public Service in a few Days, but having ſome "Furrs to diſpoſe of, I gave them at their Deſire a "Paſſport to Schenectady, wherein I recommended it "to a Merchant and Trader there, to uſe them very "kindly, and to do them the ſtricteſt Juſtice, notwith- "ſtanding which, this Enemy to the Intereſts of his "Country, impoſed upon them in the groſſeſt Manner; "it appearing from their Account, & his own Confeſ- "ſion ſince, that as they were Strangers, he had doubled "the Prices of his Goods and allowed them but half "the Weight of their Peltry; this was reſented ac- "cordingly, the Indians took another Route back, and "the Chief ſent me a Belt of Wampum with a Meſ- "ſage informing me of the Impoſition (the Particulars "of each Article being marked on the Handle of an Axe) "and aſſuring me that he ſhould always continue to have "a perſonal Regard for me, but not the leaſt for the "Engliſh who had ſerved him ſo often, but the laſt "Inſtance was of ſuch a Nature, that he had accepted "of an Invitation from the French, who knew how to "treat them, and their Services; he made his Words "good; in a few Days cut off a large Settlement, and "continued our moſt violent Enemy ever ſince, par- "ticularly at Niagara in 1759, whilſt it was not in my "Power to have the unworthy Author puniſhed. To "this I muſt ſubjoin an Inſtance in the Caſe of the "Chief of all the Senecas, a Warriour, whoſe Influence "and Capacity were, and are well known here, whom I had

" had ſteadily preſerved in the Britiſh Intereſt, when " we were almoſt totally abandoned, this Man at the " Eve of the late War, was thro' the Means of Liquor " ſeduced by ſome *Agents* at *Albany* to ſubſcribe his " Name to an Indian Deed for a Tract within the " Bounds of Pennſylvania, but claimed by the Con- " necticut People, in Virtue of their obſolete Charter, " which extended their weſtern Limits to the South " Seas. This being a moſt iniquitous Proceeding " highly reſented by the Six Nations; the few who ſub- " ſcribed to it became obnoxious to the reſt, particu- " larly the Chief before mentioned, ſo that he was " obliged to fly to the French for Protection, who ſo " far won upon him, that he with a powerful Party " who followed his Fortunes took up Arms ſhortly " after, attacked a Body of Provincials at Lake George, " whom they totally defeated and killed 45. Since " which he was concerned in the moſt important Ser- " vices againſt us, cut off ſome of our Settlements, and " occaſioned the Deaths of more than 400 of our " People. Theſe, it is preſumed, will ſuffice to ſhew " the Effects of the Reſentment of a few Indian Indi- " viduals."

Such being the Cauſes of Diſaffection, and ſuch the Motives ſtill remaining with the French to encourage Indian Hoſtilities, there was wanting only a Leader around whom to Rally and upon whom to rely for Direction

Direction and Counſel, and ſuch a Chieftain was found in the Perſon of Pontiac.

By Merit as well as by Birth he had gained the Poſition of principal Chief of the Ottawas, and his Achievements and Talents had gained him an Influence ſcarcely leſs powerful over the Ojibwas, Pottawottamies, and in fact over almoſt all the Races of the Algonquin Stock. The Seneca Tribe of the Six Nations were alſo brought into this Alliance, and led by this energetic, crafty and vindictive Enemy of the Engliſh to unite in a Plan for the ſimultaneous Deſtruction of the Poſts along the whole Frontier, as the Prelude of a general War of Extermination.

Pontiac was about fifty Years of age. He was a Friend to the French, whoſe Fortunes he ardently deſired to retrieve in Canada, and from whom he had without doubt been promiſed large Reinforcements and unlimited Supplies. The Merchandiſe ſtored at Detroit and other Poſts in the Interiour, at the Time Hoſtilities began, were alone ſufficient to provoke the Cupidity of the Savages, with much fewer Grounds for Grievance than actually exiſted, and at Detroit alone, the Value of Goods was eſtimated at half a million Pounds Sterling.[1]

In the Code of Indian Warfare, that Meaſure is honourable which is ſucceſſful, and Treachery, Craft and Force may be alike employed, as Circumſtances favour

[1] Lanman's Hiſt. Michigan, p. 107.

one

one or another. With theſe People, a Parole of Honour or the Obſervance of a Truce, would have been faithfully kept only ſo far as a Fear of Conſequences compelled them, and the Incidents concerning the Detention of Col. Campbell and Lieut. McDougal, as related in the following Pages, furniſhes but one of a Multitude of Inſtances which Hiſtory affords in Proof of the Fact, that the Natives knew no Code of Honour where an Advantage could be gained by a Breach of Truſt.

The Hatred felt by the Indians towards the Engliſh, began to aſſume a centralized and efficient Form in 1762, in the Fall of which Year Pontiac ſent Meſſengers with War Belts far and wide, calling every where upon the Warriours of his Race to unite and at a concerted Moment to fall upon and deſtroy the neareſt Military Poſts of the Engliſh, aſſuring them that their Father, the Grand Monarch, would ſuſtain them in their Effort, and that they would be able to drive theſe hated Engliſh from their Land.

The Incidents which marked the Execution of this Deſign are related in the following Pages, and the high Degree of military Merit which ſaved Detroit from the Fate of many other Frontier Poſts, will long remain a Subject of Admiration.

The Diary printed in the following Pages, we believe to be now for the firſt time publiſhed, and although its Author is unknown, we have Reaſon to infer from

ſeveral

ſeveral Alluſions to himſelf, and References to other Records kept along with it, that he was the Secretary of the Commandant, and that he was fully in his Confidence. The Manuſcript is all in one Hand-writing, and is written upon about half a dozen Sizes of Paper, which were evidently in looſe Sheets at the Time, and have ſince been bound in one Volume.

It was purchaſed from a Bookſeller in London, and its former Owner had begun to print it; but finding, after getting through thirty-two Pages, that the Sheets had not been bound up in Chronological Order, the Enterpriſe was abandoned, until it came into the Hands of the Publiſher of the preſent Series. It bears concluſive Evidence of Authenticity, and is believed to offer new and valuable Contributions to our Knowledge of the Events to which it relates.

The Tribes, one by one, were gradually won back to Peace with the Engliſh through the Addreſs of Sir William Johnſon and others, whoſe Sagacity led them to this Pacification by Detail, rather than to attempt a general Treaty with all the hoſtile Tribes, as this might lead to a Union among them that would be dangerous in its Tendencies and difficult to controul.

The Pride and Hatred of Pontiac long kept him aloof from theſe Negotiations, and many an ineffectual Effort he made to interrupt them; but the final and concluſive Intelligence of Peace between France and England, received from the French themſelves, at

length convinced them that the laſt Hope of Succour had vaniſhed, and that no Effort of theirs could Benefit their loved and cheriſhed Allies, or controul the Progreſs of the Engliſh.

Pontiac concluded a Peace with George Croghan, Deputy of Sir William Johnſon, at Detroit, in Auguſt, 1765, and promiſed to meet Sir William at Oſwego in the Spring following to ratify the Peace in Perſon, and from this Viſit he returned laden with Gifts to the Maumee, where he ſpent the ſucceeding Winter. In 1767, new Sources of Annoyance to the Indians were encountered by the Inſults and Aggreſſions of the Frontier Settlers, and a brief but bloody War enſued on the Borders of Virginia, in which Pontiac is not known to have been concerned. During the Summer of 1767, he went to the Illinois, and ſoon after repaired to St. Louis to viſit his Friend St. Ange, who then commanded at that Poſt. He was treated with great Kindneſs, and two or three Days after, hearing that a large Number of Indians were aſſembled at Cahokia, on the oppoſite Side of the River, for ſome ſocial Purpoſe, he reſolved to croſs over and ſee what was in Progreſs. He was adviſed to the Contrary, but relying upon his own Courage and ſeeing no Danger, he went.

The cloſing Scene of his Life we cannot ſo well relate as in the Language of Francis Parkman, Jr., of Boſton, whoſe beautifully written Hiſtory of the Conſpiracy

ſpiracy of Pontiac, evinces a great Amount of Reſearch, and a high Degree of literary Merit.

* * "The Place was full of Illinois Indians; ſuch "a Scene as in our own Time may often be met with "in ſome ſqualid Settlement of the Border, where the "vagabond Gueſts, bedizened with dirty Finery, tie "their ſmall Horſes in Rows along the Fences, and "ſtroll idly among the Houſes, or lounge about the "Dram-ſhops. A Chief ſo renowned as Pontiac could "not remain long among the friendly Creoles of Ca-"hokia without being ſummoned to a Feaſt; and at "ſuch primitive Entertainment the Whiſkey Bottle "would not fail to play its Part. This was in truth "the Caſe. Pontiac drank deeply, and, when the "Carouſal was over, ſtrode down the Village Street to "the adjacent Woods, where he was heard to ſing the "Medicine Songs, in whoſe magick Power he truſted "as the Warrant of Succeſs in all his Undertakings.

"An Engliſh Trader, named Williamſon, was then "in the Village. He had looked on the Movements "of Pontiac with a Jealouſy probably not diminiſhed "by the Viſit of the Chief to the French at St. Louis; "and he now reſolved not to loſe ſo Favourable an "Opportunity to deſpatch him. With this View, he "gained the Ear of a ſtrolling Indian belonging to the "Kaſkaſkia Tribe of the Illinois, bribed him with a "Barrel of Liquor, and promiſed him a farther Reward "if he would kill the Chief. The Bargain was quickly made.

" made. When Pontiac entered the Foreſt, the Aſſaſ-
" ſin ſtole upon his Track, and watching his Moment,
" glided behind him, and buried a Tomahawk in his
" Brain.

" The dead Body was ſoon diſcovered, and ſtartled
" Cries and wild Howlings announced the Event.
" The Word was caught up from Mouth to Mouth,
" and the Place reſounded with infernal Yells. The
" Warriours ſnatched their Weapons. The Illinois
" took Part with their guilty Countryman, and the few
" Followers of Pontiac, driven from the Village, fled
" to ſpread the Tidings and call the Nations to Re-
" venge. Meanwhile the murdered Chief lay on the
" Spot where he had fallen, until St. Ange, mindful of
" former Friendſhip, ſent to claim the Body, and
" buried it with warlike Honours, near his Fort of St.
" Louis.

" Thus baſely periſhed this Champion of a ruined
" Race. But could his Shade have reviſited the Scene
" of Murder, his ſavage Spirit would have exulted in
" the Vengeance which overwhelmed the Abettors of the
" Crime. Whole Tribes were rooted out to expiate it.
" Chiefs and Sachems, whoſe Veins had thrilled with
" his Eloquence, young Warriours, whoſe aſpiring
" Hearts had caught the Inſpiration of his Greatneſs,
" muſtered to revenge his Fate, and from the North
" and the Eaſt, their united Bands deſcended on the
" Villages of the Illinois. Tradition has but faintly
preſerved

"preſerved the Event; and its only Annaliſts, Men "who held the inteſtine Feuds of the Savage Tribes in "no more Account than the Quarrels of Panthers or "Wild-cats, have left but a meagre Record. Yet "enough remains to tell us that over the Grave of "Pontiac more Blood was poured out in Atonement "than flowed from the Hecatombs of ſlaughtered "Heroes on the Corpſe of Patroclus; and the Rem-"nant of the Illinois who ſurvived the Carnage re-"mained for ever after ſunk in utter Inſignificance.

"Neither Mound nor Tablet marked the Burial-"place of Pontiac. For a Mauſoleum, a City has riſen "above the Foreſt Hero; and the Race whom he "hated with ſuch burning Rancour trample with un-"ceaſing Footſteps over his forgotten Grave."

The Papers which follow the Diary in this Volume are now moſtly printed for the firſt Time, from original Manuſcripts in the State Library at Albany, and will be found to have an intereſting Relation to the Conſpiracy of Pontiac and the Wars of that Period. The Alarms which theſe Events occaſioned on the Frontier were ſcarcely leſs Diſtreſſing than actual Hoſtilities, and theſe were often greatly aggravated by Rumours of Invaſions and Murders which proved groundleſs and abſurd. The Reſources of the Country, and the Spirit of the Inhabitants were, however, teſted by this Criſis, and Hiſtory is enriched with Details, which might not have been otherwiſe preſerved.

Albany, Feb. 1, 1860. F. B. H.

DIARY

OF THE

SIEGE OF DETROIT.

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DETROIT, May 1, 1763.

THE 1ſt of May Pondiac, the moſt conſiderable Man in the Ottawa Nation, came here with about 50 of his Men,[1] & told the Commandant[2] that in a few Days when the reſt of his Nation came in he intended to come and make him a formal Viſit, as is the Cuſtom with all the Na- 1763. May 1.

[1] The Pontiac MSS. quoted by Parkman and aſcribed to a French Prieſt, ſays the Party numbered *forty*. The Commandant in writing to Sir Jeffrey Amherſt, ſtates the Number as *fifty*. They came for the nominal Purpoſe of dancing the Calumet Dance and declaring their Friendſhip for the Engliſh, but in reality to aſcertain the Strength of the Garriſon, and the Nature and Extent of their Means of Defence. While moſt of them were dancing, the others were ſtrolling about the Premiſes, narrowly examining everything.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, p, 201.

[2] Major Henry Gladwyn, had but a ſhort Time previous to this Date, ſucceeded Major Campbell in the Command of this Poſt. He had accompanied Braddock in his unfortunate Expedition in 1755, was made Captain in the 80th or Gage's Light Armed Foot, Dec. 25,

tions

1763. May. 7 tions once a Year.[3] The 7th he came with all the Ottawa and Part of ſeveral other Nations, but we ſaw from their Behavior & from Reports that they were not well intentioned, upon which the Commandant took ſuch Precautions that when they enter'd the Fort (tho they were by the neareſt acc^ts about 300 hundred and arm'd with Knives, Tomahawks, & a great many with Guns cut ſhort and hid under their Blankets) they were ſo much ſurpriz'd to ſee our Diſpoſitions that they wou'd ſcarcely ſit down to Council; however in about half an Hour after they ſaw that we were prepared for the worſt, they ſat down & made ſeveral Speaches which were anſwer'd as calmly as if we did not ſuſpect them at all, and after receiving ſome Tobacco & Bread & ſome other Preſents they went away to their Camp.[4] This Morning a Party ſent by him for that Purpoſe took Capt. Robinſon & Sir Robert

1757, and commiſſioned Major of that Regiment, June 20, 1759. In December of the Year following, he became a Major in the regular Army.

He continued in Command at Detroit through the Seige of Pontiac, and until relieved, Aug. 31, 1764, upon the Arrival of the Army under Col. Bradſtreet.

He was promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, Sept. 17, 1763, and to that of Major-General, Sept. 26, 1782. He died at Stubbing, near Cheſterfield, County of Derby, England, June 22, 1791.

[3] Referring to the Ojibwa, Pottawattamie and Wyandot Tribes, who were leagued together in this Enterpriſe.

[4] Other Authorities ſtate that but ſixty Indians were permitted to enter the Fort. All the Troops and Employées about the Premiſes were drawn up in military Array, and as Pontiac and his Men paſſed on to the Council Houſe, he found Major Gladwyn and his Officers ſitting armed with Swords and Piſtols. It was evident that the Purpoſe of the Viſit was underſtood, and the crafty Savage was overawed. As he came to that Part of his Speech in which he was to have given the Signal for Attack, a roll of Drums and claſh of Arms at the Entrance confuſed him, and he ſat down. The Commandant has been cenſured for not detaining him, which he probably would have done had he ſuſpected the Extent of the Plot.

Davers

Davers in a Barge near the Mouth of Lake Huron, 1763. May.
which Capt. Robinſon went to ſound. They with
Part of the Boat's Crew were put to Death,[5] the reſt
they took Priſoners as we were afterwards informed.
The 8th Pondiac return'd with a Pipe of Peace in
order to aſk Commandant leave to come next Day with
his whole Nation to bury all bad Reports, but the
Commandant wou'd not give him leave but told him
if he had any thing to ſay he might come with the reſt
of the Chiefs and he would hear them. However in-
ſtead of coming the 9th in the after Noon he ſtruck his 9
Camp and croſſ'd the River within ½ a Mile of the
Fort,[6] but being inform'd by the Interpreter that he
would not be permitted to come in, he embark'd again
& he commenc'd Hoſtilities by killing the King's
Cattle that were on an Iſland about 3 Miles from the
Fort,[7] with the People that took care of them, and a
poor Engliſh Family that had juſt built a little Houſe
there,[8] as alſo another Engliſh Family that liv'd juſt
behind the Fort.[9] He alſo cut of the Communication

[5] An anonymous Letter, dated at Detroit, July 9, 1763, and printed in the Pennſylvania Gazette, Nos. 1,807, 1,808, ſtates that the Body of Sir Robert Davers was boiled and eaten. Mr. Paully (whoſe Eſcape from the Enemy is elſewhere noticed) ſaw the Skin of Capt. Robertſon's Arm in uſe as a Tobacco Pouch. Theſe Murders occurred May 9, 1763.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, p. 207.

[6] The Ottawa Camp had previouſly been about five Miles above on the eaſt Side of the River.

[7] Iſle au Cochon or Hog Iſland, is now on the American Side of the National Boundary. It is two Miles long and one wide.

[8] The Perſon killed here was named James Fiſher, who had been a Sergeant of the Regulars. A further Account of this Murder is given in Rogers's Narrative in the ſubſequent Pages of this Volume. His Wife and four Soldiers are by ſome Accounts reported as having been murdered at the ſame Time.—*Thatcher, Lanman.*

[9] This Family was that of an from

1763. May. from the Fort to the Inhabitants on each Side ſo that we cou'd not get the leaſt Thing brought into the Fort. He told the Inhabitants that the firſt of them that ſhou'd bring us any Proviſions or any thing that cou'd be of any Service to us, they wou'd put that Family to Death. They alſo ſurrounded the Fort & fired a vaſt Number of Shots at it and the Veſſels which were anchor'd ſo as to flank the Fort both above and below.[10] The Garriſon lay upon the Arms all Night, not being above 120 Men,[11] Merchants, Sick & Officers. The

Engliſh Woman, named Turnbull, who lived outſide of the Fort on a diſtant Part of the Common. Major Gladwyn had given her a Piece of Land for her Reſidence.—*Lanman's Michigan*, 106.

[10] There were two ſmall armed Veſſels lying before the Fort at this Time, named the *Beaver* and the *Gladwyn*. They rendered efficient Service in the Siege, and kept the Enemy from approaching by Water.

[11] The Garriſon at the Beginning of the Siege conſiſted of one hundred and twenty-two Men and eight Officers, beſides about forty Fur-traders and Engagées, who were more inclined to the French and were willing to be neutral. The Fort was Quadrilateral, with one Side near the water's Edge, and conſiſted of a ſingle Row of Paliſades twenty-five feet high, with Block-houſes over the Gates and at the Angles. It contained two Six-pounders, one Three-pounder and three Mortars, badly mounted and calculated rather to inſpire Terror than to do Execution among the ſkulking Savages who ſo aſſiduouſly watched the Fort, ſeldom venturing in Numbers within Range of the great Guns, but ready to take off the unlucky Perſon who might chance to ſhow his Head above the Pickets, or his Body before a Port hole.

This Encloſure contained about 100 ſmall Dwellings, cloſely built upon narrow Streets, a Council-houſe, a ſmall Church and Barracks for the Troops. A wider Street, called the *Chemin du Ronde*, led around the Buildings adjacent to the Pickets. The Buildings were of Wood and very liable to be ſet on Fire by burning Arrows. The Church was particularly expoſed to this Caſualty, as it ſtood near to the Paliſades, but the Indians were threatened by the French Prieſt with the anger of the Great Spirit, if they did not deſiſt from their Attempts to fire this Building. The Garriſon by keeping conſtant Watch and plenty of Water in Ciſterns, prevented Fires from taking. The River is here half a mile Wide.—*Diſcourſe of Lewis Caſs, before the Hiſt. Soc. of Michigan, Sept.* 18, 1829, p. 29.

10th

10th they ſurrounded it again and fired very briſkly till about 11 or 12 o'Clock when they made ſome Propoſals for an Accommodation (which was lucky for us, as it gave us Time to get Proviſions in to the King's Store as we had not above three Weeks at ſhort allowance), and Capt. Campbell and Lieut. McDougal,[12] with the principal Part of the French, who ſaid they would be anſwerable for their Return, went out to hold a Council with him, but as ſoon as Pondiac got them in his Poſſeſſion, he chang'd his Mind & would not come to Terms as he had a few Hours before promiſ'd the French, who ſeem'd to do all in their Power to make him diſperſe his People, but on the contrary ſent Word to the Commandant that he muſt leave the Fort

1763. May. 10

[12] Major Donald Campbell had been ſucceeded by Gladwyn but a few Days before. M. Gouin, a friendly Canadian, finding that theſe Men were in great Danger, haſtily ſent a Meſſage for them not to come out, but as they had already ſtarted with La Butte, one of the Interpreters and ſome other French, they would not heed the Warning and paſſed on. When they came to a riſing Ground, beyond which the Indians lay, the latter ran yelling towards them, as if they were priſoners running the Gauntlet, but Pontiac allayed the Tumult, and led them to a Lodge, where ſome few Words were ſpoken, but on their propoſing to Return they found themſelves Priſoners. They were quartered in the Houſe of M. Meloche, near Parent Creek, and cloſely guarded, but otherwiſe well treated for the Preſent. Two Indians had been detained in the Fort a few Days before, and were ſtill in the Hands of the Engliſh, which doubtleſs prevented the Savages from Acts of Violence at this Time.

On the 4th of July following, a Nephew of an Ojibwa Chief, was killed and ſcalped by a Party from the Fort. Upon hearing this News, the enraged Uncle ran to the Houſe of Meloche, ſeized Major Campbell, bound him faſt to a Fence and killed him with Arrows. He was afterwards ſhockingly mangled, and it was reported that his Heart was eaten by the Savages. Lieut. McDougall inſtantly fled, and ſucceeded in reaching the Fort in Safety. Some Authors have ſtated that the Murder of Major Campbell was approved by Pontiac, while others affirm that he was highly offended, and that the Murderer was obliged to eſcape beyond his Reach.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 211, 260; *MSS. Sir Wm. Johnſon*, vol. vii.

as

1763. May, 11 as M. Bell Etre did, that was to ſay to take Proviſion enough with him to carry him to Niagara, but to leave all the Merchandise.[13] To which the Commandant anſwer'd that he cou'd not come to any Terms with him until he ſent back Capt. Campbell & Lieut. McDougal, for whom he wou'd give up the two Pottawattamies that he had detained for them. The Garriſon lay on their Arms all Night as uſual. We were at the ſame Time told by ſome French that they thought the beſt thing we cou'd do wou'd be to ſave ourſelves in the Veſſels, as there was 1000, ſome ſaid 1500 Indians ready to fall upon all Sides of the Fort, but they got for Anſwer that if in caſe they were three times a numerous there was not an Officer or.[14]

12 In the Morning Pondiac ſent another Meſſage deſiring the Fort to be given up, as before, to which the Commandant gave an equivocal Anſwer to gain Time, to get Proviſion, having for two Nights before employ'd ſome French Men to put ſome Corn and Pares Geeſe on board the Veſſels unknown to the Indians. The twelfth in the Morning they ſurrounded the Fort & fired upon it and the Veſſels for about four Hours very briſkly, tho at ſo great a Diſtance that we had but one Man ſlightly wounded in the Fort and another on board one of the Veſſels. We kill'd three or four of them and wounded nine or ten. We ſet fire to ſome out Houſes from behind which they annoy'd us. The Garriſon lay upon their Arms on the Rampart all Night, as they had done for three Nights before. The

[13] M. P. de Beletere was the laſt French Commandant at Detroit, beſore its Surrender to the Engliſh in the Autumn of 1760. He was ſent with the other Priſoners under the Care of Lieut. Holmes and thirty Rangers to Philadelphia.—*Rogers's Journal*, p. 229.

[14] The Sentence in the Manuſcript thus ends abruptly.

thirteenth

thirteenth in the Morning we heard that the Hurons had interſepted one Chapman,[15] with five Battoes or Canoes loaded with Merchandize, amongſt which they got ſixteen half Barrels of Powder and ſome Rum, & that they were all drunk with it, upon which Hopkins,[16] with twenty-five Men, among whom were Mr. Starling, Mr. Watkins and McCormick, Volunrs went on board the Sloop in order to go oppoſite the Huron Village,[17] and under the fire of her Cannon to land and burn it with their Booty and their Corn, the Wind being favorable to go up or down the River, but unluckily before he got Half way there the Wind ſhifted and he was obliged to return, but by the Fire that the Huron kept while the Veſſel was under Sail it did not appear that they were Drunk or off their Guard. They conſtantly fired on the Fort & Veſſels till dark, but without doing the leaſt Damage. This Afternoon

1763. May. 13

[15] Chapman was a Trader, who, without ſuſpecting Hoſtilities, was approaching Detroit. Heckewelder relates (*Hiſt. Ind. Nat.* 250), of a Man of this Name, and perhaps the Perſon here referred to, that after being kept ſome Time by a Frenchman, the Indians reſolved to burn him alive. He was bound to the Stake, and the Flames were kindled, when in the Agonies of that Moment an Indian handed him a Bowl of Broth. Upon touching it with his Lips, it was found boiling hot, and in an Inſtant he threw the Diſh and its Contents into the Face of the Savage. "He is mad! he is mad!" ſhouted the Crowd, and haſtily quenching the Fire, they relieved him from his horrid Fate and ſet him at Liberty. The ſuperſtitious Awe with which the Natives regarded Lunatics and Idiots, has been often remarked by Hiſtorians, and aids in explaining ſome ſtriking Incidents in their Annals. Chapman was brought in and ſurrendered July 12th, 1763.

[16] Captain Hopkins had Charge of a Company of Rangers, and in the numerous Skirmiſhes and Sorties that occurred during the Siege, he is often mentioned as having had the Command.

[17] The Huron Village lay Eaſt of the River, a ſhort Diſtance below Detroit. A Miſſionary of the Order of Carthuſian Friars, by Permiſſion of the Biſhop of Canada reſided there.—*Carver's Travels*, p. 92.

burn'd

1763. May. burn'd ſeveral out Houſes from behind which they annoy'd us. The Garriſon lay on Ramparts as uſual.

12 The twelfth in the Evening Pondiac ſent in another Meſſage demanding the Fort, at the ſame Time ſaying that the firing ſhou'd ceaſe until an Anſwer was ſent; this was to get Time to bring of the Dead and Wounded that had fallen in the Morning as appear'd from about thirty or forty of them coming about the Fort without Arms immediately after the Meſſenger arrived, but not ſo near as to be taken; after this Meſſenger ariv'd we found that the Corn, Flower & Bare's Greaſe that we had put on board the Veſſels & that we found in the Fort would laſt us for upwards of three Months.

The Anſwer to the above Meſſage is in the Memorandum of the 16th.

14 The fourteenth[18] they began firing at about eleven o'Clock and continued till dark, not daring to approach nearer than the neareſt Houſes that cou'd cover them, which was upwards of two hundred Yards off. They fir'd a great deal but more upon the Veſſels than on

[18] Major Gladwyn appears to have ſucceeded this Day in getting off a Letter to Gen. Amherſt, as appears from an Epiſtle of the latter to Col. Bradſtreet, Q. M. G., dated June 22, 1763:

* * * "Major Gladwyn writes me of the 14th May, that the Detroit was inveſted by a large Body of Indians; but that the Garriſon was in high Spirits, and he was in Hopes of being able to defend the Place untill he received ſome Succours from Niagara; & Major Wilkins acquaints me he had, immediately on the Arrival of the Schooner from the Detroit, ſent off a Reinforcement of fifty Men with a Lieutenant and non-commiſſioned Officers, which I truſt will have arrived in Time to ſave the Place. I well know that you are always ready, however I think it neceſſary to acquaint you to be prepared for moveing at a moment's Warning, as, if the Savages are not quickly reduced, I believe I ſhall employ you on a Command which I am certain will be agreeable to you."—*Bradſtreet & Amherſt Papers*, p. 140.

the

the Fort. We had this Day a Searjeant and one private Man wounded. 1763. May.

Laſt Night theſe Indians made a kind of Breaſtwork between the Fort and Mr. St. Martin Houſe of ſome Pickets that he had for a Garden.[19] This Morning we cut two Embraſures through the Stockades for two four Pounders with which we intended to diſlodge them in caſe they ſhould return again. But inſtead of their coming to fire in the Manner they had done yeſterday, there was only a few of them came and began firing ſcattering Shot at eleven o'Clock & continued ſo till the Evening which we did not mind. This Morning a Party went out and burn'd the remainder of the Houſes that was near the Fort from behind which they annoy'd the Veſſels. They day before yeſterday we were informed that Mr. Rutherford,[20] who was with Capt. Robinſon, was not kill'd but remains a Priſoner with the Indians. 15

The Garriſon lay on their Arms to night as uſual.

The Anſwer the Commandant ſent to the verbal Meſſage that Pondiac ſent the 12th in the Evening was, That he was not ſent here to give up the Fort to Indians, and adviſed Pondiac to diſperſe his People and take care of his Ammunition to hunt with. 16

This Morning at 11 o'Clock they began to fire ſcat-

[19] St. Martin, a French Interpreter, lived near the Fort, and his Houſe was a convenient Point from whence the Indians might annoy the Garriſon. The Owner appears to have been very kindly diſpoſed toward the Engliſh, and on the 30th of June withdrew with his Family into the Fort.

[20] Mr. Samuel Rutherford was ſubſequently purchaſed by M. Cueſiere, from the Indians, for £80 worth in Goods, but Pontiac upon learning the Fact went with a Body of fifty Men and reclaimed him, ſaying it was not a good Precedent to ſell Priſoners to the French. He eſcaped to the Fort on the firſt Day of Auguſt.—*Lanman's Hiſt. Michigan*, 108.

tering

1763. May. 16 tering Shot from Mr. S[t] Martins Houſe & Mr. Babies,[21] and continued till Evening, but without doing us any Damage.

The moſt of the Inhabitants aſſembled themſelves to day to ſpeake to Pondiac, who told them before he would give over his Deſign he wou'd ſend two Frenchmen and two Indians to the Illinois to inform himſelf whether what we had told him with regard to the Peace was true or not, & as to Capt. Campbelle & Lieut. McDougal he wou'd take care of them, and deliver them to the Commandant that he had ſent for from the Illinois.

This Day a few Shot were fired as uſual from Mr. Babies & Mr. S[t] Martins Houſes at the Veſſels without doing any Execution. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

17 This Day there was not above a dozen Indians appeared within ſight of the Fort, who did not fire above twenty Shot. The Garriſon lay on the Rampart.

18 This Day a few Shot were fired from S[t] Martins & Babie as uſual without Damage. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

19 This Day we were very quiet, not having ten Shot fired at us. We were laſt Night inform'd that there was upwards of 150 Indians gone to the Mouth of the River to interſept ſome Party's that we expected from Niagara, upon which the Commandant ordered the Scooner to be got ready for Sea to ſend her down to cover t em in caſe they came ſafe to the Mouth of the

[21] M. Babie, a Frenchman in caſy Circumſtances, evinced the greateſt Friendſhip to the Engliſh, and ſecretly furniſhed them with Proviſions, at a Time when they were much needed. He came into the Fort with his Family, July 3, bringing ſuch of his Goods as he could remove, and leaving the Remainder at the Mercy of the Indians. His Houſe was burned by the Engliſh as a precautionary Meaſure on the 25th of Auguſt.

River.

River. We alſo receiv'd ſome Letters laſt Night from Fort S[t] Joſephs by an Indian that we had ſent from here, every thing there ſeem'd quiet and the Indians declar'd great deal of Friendſhip for the Garriſon. 1763. May. 20

This Evening a Man that was taken Priſoner ſix Days ago by ſome Ottawas and Mingoes in the Huron River ariv'd here by the Aſſiſtance of two or three Frenchmen that were coming down that River. He inform'd us that he was hired with one Crawford a Trader who was on his way Home, that about 15 Indians met with them and laid down their Arms and call'd them Brothers, but after having reconnoiter'd them and finding they had a great quantity of Peltry fell upon them and took them all Priſoners and oblig'd them to return with them to a carrying Place on a ſmall River that runs into the Miamis, from whence he made his Eſcape as the Indians took him from a French Man, he ſpeaking a little French.

The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts as uſual.

The 21. At eleven o'Clock the Scooner ſail'd for the Mouth of the River with a N. E. Wind.[22] No Indians appear'd near the Fort to day till the Afternoon when a few came and fired ſome Shot at the Sloop. 21

At ſix in the Evening it was reported the Scooner was run aground, upon which all the Indians gather'd themſelves together to attack her, but the foremoſt Cannoe having one Man kill'd by a Shot from her frightened the reſt ſo much that they put aſhore again.

This Morning at 8 o'Clock we were inform'd that 22

[22] Other Accounts ſtate that the Veſſel which ſailed this Day for Niagara, was the *Gladwin*, the ſmaller of the two, and rated at about eighty tons. Carver records the Fact that ſhe was afterwards loſt on Lake Erie with all her Crew, through the Obſtinacy of her Commander, who could not be prevailed upon to take in ſufficient Ballaſt.—*Carver's Travels*, p. 99.

after

1763. May. 22 after the Indians had attempted to attack the Schooner ſhe carryed out an Anchor and hall'd off and this Morning arriv'd at the Mouth of the River.

At 9 o'Clock Mr. S[t] Martin came with a Meſſage from the Hurons, who deſir'd him to tell the Commandant that they had been forc'd into the War by the Ottawas, that they had taken Chapman & his Merchandize, as alſo a Cannoe with five Engliſhmen coming from Sanduſky yeſterday, among whom were Mr. Smallman & two Jews, who muſt have all fallen into worſe hands if they had not taken them, as they had not killed any of them; they deſired to know what Opinion the Commandant had of them, that if he wou'd make Peace with them they wou'd give up their Priſoners and pay Chapman for the Part of his Merchandiſe that fell to their Lot in the Diviſion of them with the other Indians; to which the Commandant deſir'd the Interpreter, Mr. S[t] Martin, to anſwer that upon theſe Conditions he wou'd take it upon himſelf to make Peace with them for the Preſent and recommend them to the General,[23] who he made no doubt wou'd make it a laſting one if their future behavior ſhould merit it. They alſo offer'd to get themſelves entrench'd on a ſmall Iſland at the Mouth of the River and protect all Merchants Boats from the other Nations that ſhould arive there. But the Commandant did not aſk that of them for ſeveral good Reaſons, but would rather they ſhou'd perform their Promiſes & remain quiet, or uſe their Endeavors to ſeparate Pondiac & his followers, who at this Time had cut off all Communication between us and our Outpoſts, as alſo lay in wait at different Places to intercept all Merchants that might be on their way hither.

[23] Sir Jeffrey Amherſt, then Commander-in-Chief of the Britiſh forces in North America.

He

He reign'd at this Time with moſt deſpotic Sway over the French, making ſeveral of them plow Land for him to put Corn in the Ground, and after they had done wou'd kill their Cattle. Three Days ago he ſent ſix Frenchmen with ſome Indians amongſt ſome other Nations to advertiſe them of what he was doing and to bring him Word from the Illinois wheather what we had told him with regard to the Peace was true or not.[24] 1763. May. 22

We had not one Shot fir'd at us to day, notwithſtanding which the Garriſon lay on the Ramparts as uſual.

This Morning Pondiac being inform'd that the Scooner was on Ground, forc'd Capt. Campbelle to croſs the River with him in order to put him on board of a Cannoe to go and tell the Commander of her to give her to the Indians, but when he ariv'd at the Huron Village he was again inform'd that ſhe was in the Lake, upon which he return'd. When Pondiac propoſed this to Capt. Campbelle, he told him he might put him to death for he wou'd not go, but Pondiac told him he would not put him to death, but he would oblige him to go, and forc'd him.[25] 2

We had not one Shot fir'd at us to day.

The Hurons promiſ'd to remain neuter for five or

[24] The Commandant at the Illinois was at this Time M. de Neyon, who was ſtationed at Fort Chartres, the principal Poſt of the French in that Region. This was located near Kaſkaſkia, on the Miſſiſſippi, in the preſent County of Randolph, Ill. It was built in 1720, under the Auſpices of the Miſſiſſippi Company. The Capitulation of Montreal did not include the Remote French Poſts beyond the great Lakes.—*Brown's Hiſt. Ill.*, 165.

[25] Other Accounts ſtate that the Schooner lay becalmed, upon diſcovering which the Indians came out in their Canoes, with Major Campbell in the Prow of the foremoſt as a Shield againſt the Fire of the Engliſh. The brave old Officer called out to the Crew to do their Duty regardleſs of the Conſequences to him—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 230.

ſix

1763. May. ſix Days to try if they cou'd not by ſome Means get Pondiac to ſeparate his People, at the Expiration of which Time they expected ſome of the Delaware & Shawany Chiefs who was to join with them & oblige Pondiac to come to their Terms.

The Garriſon lay upon the Ramparts as uſual.

24 At about ſeven in the Evening the Indians ſurrounded us and began to fire on the Sloop and continued till about ten o'Clock, when the People on board obſerv'd a great Number firing from one Place they pointed a ſix Pounder and fir'd it, after which they did not fire ten Shot tho they had fir'd upwards of a thouſand before; at eleven they began to fire from Mr. S[t] Martins Houſe upon the Flag Baſtion where we are inform'd there was about two hundred who brought Combuſtibles to ſet fire to the Fort, but none of them dare approach nearer than where they cou'd be cover'd, they kept a very hot Fire till after one, which we did not mind, hardly ever returning a Shot, till hearing one of them ſpeaking louder than the reſt and a great many anſwering him, the Commandant pointed a four Pounder at the Place loaded with a Ball & Grape & fir'd it, ſoon after which they went off, not firing twenty Shot after it, tho they had fir'd very briſkly from 11. By the death Song that they ſung two or three times we imagine there was ſome kill'd or wounded. The Garriſon lay upon the Ramparts.

25 This Morning every thing was quiet till the Afternoon all which Time we employ'd in making a kind of Cavalier[26] to flank the Bank between Mr. S[t] Martins Houſe from whence they much annoy'd us, but at

[26] A Mound of Earth, uſually built in the Gorge of a Baſtion, and ſeveral Feet higher. It is uſed to defilade the Works from the Fire of an Enemy on an adjacent Height, or to command the Trenches of the Beſiegers.—*Brande's Dictionary.*

four

four in the Afternoon they ſurrounded us with Combuſtibles as yeſterday, which prevented our raiſing the Cavalier, inſtead of which Mr. Watkins was ſent out to take with five Men to take Poſſeſſion of that Part of the Bank that the Enemy annoy'd us from the yesterday, which not only prevented them from approaching but drove them away, ſo that from 9 at Night we had not a Shot fir'd at us. The Garriſon on the Ramparts. 1763. May.

This Morning early we put up the Cavalier. At 9 o'Clock we were inform'd that laſt Night a Party of Ottawas ariv'd from Sanduſky who brought Enſign Paulle,[27] the Commandant Priſoner having enter'd the Fort with a few that he thought were his Friends, who ſiez'd him and put the Garriſon to death. The Ottawas that went there told the Hurons that this Place was taken & that their Brothers and the reſt of the Hurons had taken up the Hatchet againſt us, notwithſtanding which the Hurons would not conſent for three Days. 26

This Afternoon we were inform'd that Pondiac having underſtood that the Veſſel was ſtill at the Mouth of the River, took Capt. Campbelle by Force as before, with an Intent to oblige him to go with them in order to take her by Treachery. They alſo took M. La

[27] Enſign Chriſtopher Paully, of Sanduſky, on the 16th of May was treacherouſly ſeized while in Converſation with ſeven Indians, diſarmed and made Priſoner, moſt of the Garriſon under his Command killed, the Fort burned, and himſelf thruſt into a Canoe and taken on to Detroit. On the Way he was threatened with being burned alive, and upon arriving at Pontiac's Camp he was aſſailed with the barbarous Treatment uſually beſtowed upon Priſoners. An old Woman, whoſe Huſband had died, choſe to adopt him in Place of the deceaſed Warrior, and he accepted the Alternative to ſave his Life, but watching the firſt Opportunity eſcaped and reached the Fort at Detroit, July 4th. He had been commiſſioned an Enſign in the 60th Regiment, Feb. 8, 1761.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 238, 260.

Bute

1763. May. Bute the Interpretor & a Frenchman that could ſpeake Engliſh. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

27 This Morning at Day light we fir'd two Cannon to advertiſe the Veſſel that they might not be deceived as Pondiac intended in making them believe it was Peace. Every thing was quiet laſt Night.

At 3 in the Afternoon Pondiac return'd with Capt. Campbelle, and ſaid that he had demanded the Veſſell, but the Commandant wou'd not give her up, upon which Pondiac told him they wou'd come & attak him, & he anſwer'd they might. Then he went & encamp'd on a neighboring Iſland, but the Veſſel weighed Anchor & went off before Day. This Pondiac ſays.

A few Shot fir'd as uſual at the Veſſel to day and a few at the Fort. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

We were inform'd to night by M. S^{t} Martin that the Hurons were ſtill reſolv'd to remain Neuter, & that in caſe the Ottawas oblig'd them to take up Arms they wou'd go off into the Woods.

That if the reſt of their Nation which were at Sanduſky wou'd not deſiſt they wou'd diſarm them.

28 Nothing of Conſequence to day. Some Councils were held between the French and Indians about their Cattle. Some few Shots as uſual were fir'd at the Veſſel and Fort. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

29 This Morning we were inform'd that there was about 50 Ottawas who lay in Ambuſh in a Hollow way behind M. S^{t} Martins Houſe all Day yeſterday, immagining that we ſhould make a Sortee as we had done two or three Days before to burn ſome Logs that they had made a Breaſtwork of. This we ſuppoſe was in conſequence of what ſome of the French told them.

At 10 o'clock we were inform'd that two Batteaus were cut off in the River Huron with 19 Soldiers & a Woman which we ſuppoſe muſt have been Serjeant Shaw

Shaw who went from this with Proviſions to Michilimackinac, the 17th April. 1763. May.

At 3 in the Afternoon Mr. Sterling[28] rec[d] a Letter from Mr. Rutherford informing him that on the 8th Inſtant they were inform'd that by ſome French People in the River Huron that the Indians were ill inclin'd & beg'd them to go no further, but Sir Robert [Davers] and Capt. Robinſon did not give much Credit to it and went on, that on turning a Point at the Entrance of the Lake they were fir'd upon by ſome Indians who kill'd Sir Robert, Capt. Robinſon & two Soldiers the firſt Shot, the reſt they took Priſoners. This Evening a few Shot were fir'd at the Veſſel and Fort as uſual, without doing any Damage. The Garriſon lay on their Arms. 29

This Morning at 8 o'Clock we had the diſagreeable Sight of eight Battoes with Proviſions that a Party of Indians had taken belonging to a Party commanded by Lieut. Scuyler,[29] the [28th] Inſtant, about 14 Miles 30

[28] Mr. Sterling was an Engliſh Trader then at Detroit. After the Receipt of the Treaty by which Canada was confirmed to the Engliſh, he was appointed to take Charge of the French who were in the Fort.

[29] This ſhould have been written *Cuyler*. He had left Fort Niagara May 14th, with 96 Men in eighteen Boats, and a plentiful Supply of Proviſions and military Stores. He had met neither Friend nor Foe until he landed on the 28th at Point Pelée to encamp The Party was ſurprized by a great Number of Indians in Ambuſh. The Men threw down their Arms and fled to their Boats, five of which puſhed off, but only two of which eſcaped. The following Letter from Niagara gave the firſt Intelligence of this Event to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America:

NIAGARA, 6th June, 1763.

Honoured Sir: By My Letter of yeſterday you'll be fully informed of euery thing that come to my Hands ſince my laſt of the Month of May.[1] I ſhall only ſignify to you at Preſent what Accounts have come here ſince laſt Night: firſt, that the Queen's Independents upon their way to the Detroit, and a Serjeant and twenty

[1] This Letter relates the inſolent Demands of the Indians for Rum, but no Hoſtilities had then been heard of.

from

1763. May. from the Mouth of the River; as the Affair happen'd in the Night we have no juſt Accounts of the kill'd & Priſoners, but Lieut. Scuyler with two Batteaus made their Eſcape. When they were paſſing the Fort at about 600 Yards Diſtance we call'd to them, as their was but a few Indians in ſome of them, & told them to puſh off towards the Veſſel & ſhe would cover them with her Fire, upon which the foremoſt, having four Soldiers & two Indians[30] in it put off, the Soldiers ſiezing the Indians & throwing them overboard and gain'd the Veſſel notwithſtanding the Fire of the Indians from the Shore. The Batteau had ſeven Barrels of Pork & one of Flower on board. One of the Soldiers fell overboard with the Indians whome after a great Struggle they tomahawk'd.

At three in the Afternoon the remainder of the Party that was at the Lake return'd and brought two or three Traders Batteaus, which they lay in weight for, being

Men of the 60th Reg't within 25 Miles of that Place, at 11 o'Clock at Night were attacked by a Party of Indians and out of 76 of the Independents only 36 return'd here.

That the Old Betts Daughter has been informed this Day by a Seneca Chachim to quit this Place, as they have ree'd a Belt from the Indians about Pittſbourg to take up the bloody Hatchet, and that all the ſurrounding Indians in them Parts are abſolutely determined thereupon. An Anſwer the Senecas have not given to thoſe who ſent the Belt till ſuch Times as all the Shachims muſt be firſt made acquainted of their Proceedings the likewiſe have ſent with the Belt one Scalp that they took in or about Pittſbourg. You may depend upon me to give you the moſt timely Notice of every thing that pertains to his Majeſty's Service in the moſt diſtinct Manner that my Capacity will permit & never ſhall fail meriting Honor'd Sir to be

your faithful Servant.

De Couagne.

The Honourable Sir Wm. Johnſon. —*MSS. of Sir William Johnſon*, vol. vii.

[30] Other Accounts ſtate the Number of Indians in this Boat as *three*. The Soldier that periſhed was drawn overboard by the Indian he was throwing out, and ſome Authorities relate that they periſhed in each other's Embrace. Another Writer affirms that the Indian ſwam aſhore. —*Parkman's Pontiac*, 233.

inform'd

inform'd they were coming by the Priſoners they took of Mr. Cuylers Party. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts as uſual. 1763. May,

This Morning two drunken Indians came up to the Fort without Arms, being hot brave, to ſet Fire to it, but were fir'd upon one of which fell on the Spot and the other ran away but fell in our Sight, and we ſince hear is dead. The Indians have been ſo drunk this two Days paſt that they did not fire five Shot at us. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 31

This Morning at about 3 o'Clock two Men call'd from the Hill behind the Fort who told us they were two Traders that had made their Eſcape from the Indians who we let in at a ſmall Port. A Quarter of an Hour after a Man call'd to the Veſſel for a Boat from the other Side of the River, but thinking it might be a Decoy, we got two Frenchmen in a Cannoe who went brought over a Man of Capt. Hopkins Company who made his Eſcape from the Indians after Mr. Cuyler Defeat and croſſ'd the Country from Lake; he brought his Arms with him. This Day ſome Indian Cannoes went down the River as we ſuppoſe to cut off ſome more Traders Boats that is expected from Niagara. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. June 1.

This Morning about fifteen Cannoes went down the River as we imagine to intercept ſome more Traders that are on the way between Niagara and this Place. 2

In the Afternoon a Frenchman brought in a Letter that was encloſ'd to me from Niagara which Capt. Campbelle gave in, by which we were inform'd that the definitive Treaty was ſign'd at London the 20th February. Not a Shot was fired to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Afternoon a few Shots were fir'd at the Fort & Veſſel as uſual. The Garriſon lay upon the Ramparts as uſual. 3

This

1763. June. 4 This Morning Mr. Cueſiere purchaſ'd Mr. Rutherford from the Indians on Condition that he ſhou'd keep himſelf. A few Shot were fired at the Fort and Veſſel as uſual.

This Evening ſome Indians ariv'd with four Priſoners and ſome Scalps & reported that Miamee was taken,[31] & that the Shawanees & Delawares had commenc'd Hoſtilities at Fort Pitt.[32]

5 This Afternoon about fifty Indians fired for an Hour or two at the Fort & Veſſel without doing any Execution. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

6 This Day we were inform'd that the Commandant of Fort S[t] Joſeph was Priſoner with the Puttawattamies; we imagine that he was oblig'd to evacuate his Poſt not having more than a hundred weight of Flour the 12 May and in attempting to come here was taken.[33] It

[31] Fort Miami, on the Maumee, under the Command of Enſign Holmes, was treacherouſly captured on the 27th of May. Holmes was enticed away from the Fort by a young Indian Girl who lived with him, and repreſented that a Squaw lay dangerouſly ill in a Wigwam not far off. He was ſhot; the Sergeant who came out to learn the Cauſe of the firing, was taken Priſoner, and the Remainder ſurrendered at Diſcretion.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 244.

A ſimilar Verſion of this Affair is recorded in this Diary for June 8, and a further Statement June 15th.

[32] On the 27th of May a Party of Indians approached Fort Pitt and encamped. The next Day they came to the Fort with Pack Horſes laden with valuable Furs, with which to purchaſe Ammunition. Tidings of murders and burning were ſoon after brought in, and the Country around was ſpeedily viſited by a diſtreſſing warfare in which many Perſons were killed, and Communication with the reſt of the Province was entirely cut off. On the 28th of July it was vigorouſly beſieged, but on the 1ſt of Auguſt the Enemy withdrew to Attack Gen. Bouquet, by whom they were defeated in the memorable Fight at Buſhy Run.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 359.

[33] The Poſt at St. Joſeph in Charge of Enſign Schloſſer with fourteen Men, was ſurpriſed on the Morning of May 25th, by a large Number of Pottawattamies, who came into the Fort in an inſolent and diſorderly Manner. At a given

was

was alſo reported that Miamees was taken, but it was reported ſo many different ways that we did not believe it. Some Days ago Mr. Cueſiere purchaſ'd Mr. Rutherford from the Indians, but a Miſſiſſagy Indian ariving the Day before yeſterday and informing Pondiac that they nor the Six Nations had not ſtruck nor would not ſtrike if the Peace was made, alarm'd him, upon which he went with fifty Men & took back the Priſoner, ſaying that it was not a good Preſident[34] to ſell their Priſoners, that when things come to be accommodated they cou'd exchange them or give them up as they ſaw occaſion. Every thing quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 1763. June.

This Day the Indian Chiefs had a Council at the Puttawattamees but for what end we know not. A few Shot were fir'd at the Veſſel & Fort as uſual. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 7

Yeſterday Pondiac took two Priſoners from Mr. Babie that he had purchaſ'd from the Indians, telling him the ſame that he told Cueſiere.

The Council held yeſterday as we are inform'd was to conclude upon a Method to attack the Veſſel, which they intend by fiting up eight Batteaux and lining them, with which they are to fall down the Stream and board her, while a great Number keeps a hot Fire upon the Fort. This to be done in a very dark Night. All quiet to day except a few Shot from S[t] Martins Houſe. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 8

This Afternoon three Batteaux paſſ'd up the River that were taken by the Chippawas near the Place Mr. 9

Signal, thoſe within ruſhed to the Gate, killed the Sentinel and ten other Men, and took the Commandant and the three ſurviving Men Priſoners. He was exchanged at Detroit, on 15th of June.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 240.

Schloſſer's Statement is recorded in this Diary for June 15th.

[34] Precedent.

Cuyler

1763. June. 9 Cuyler was defeated. There was eleven Perſons in them, two of whom were kill'd, the reſt they brought here Priſoners.

We were alſo well aſſured that the Miamee was taken, as a Frenchman ſpoke to the Corporal of that Garriſon who was Priſoner with the Indians, who told him that Mr. Holmes had been inform'd of the Deſigns of the Indians & that he had ſhut the Gates of the Fort, which the Indians ſeeing found they cou'd not take it but by Treachery, accordingly they employ'd a Squaw that Mr. Holmes kept to bring him out of the Fort to bleed her Siſter who was ſick in a Caban, and as ſoon as he came there three or four Ottawas who had hid themſelves on purpoſe fired at him and kill'd him, then took one Welch whome they had Priſoner and went to the Fort & made him tell the Men if they would lay down their Arms they ſhould be all ſav'd, upon which they open'd the Gates. We hear they have carried them towards the Illinois. The Garriſon lay on their Arms.

10 This Day the Puttawattamies ſent Mr. Gamelin with a Meſſage to the Commandant deſiring to change Mr. Schloſſer for one of the Indians we have in Cuſtody. To which the Commandant anſwer'd that they muſt firſt let him know how many Priſoners they had taken & what they had done with them, and gave leave to four of the Chiefs with Mr. Gamelin to come within thirty Yards of the Fort to ſpeake to the two we had in Cuſtody, at their Requeſt. In a Hour afterwards the whole Nation came to Mr. S^{t} Martins Houſe (when the Garriſon was order'd on the Ramparts), where they halted and ſent forward four Chiefs, who told they were led into the War by Pondiac, &c.; to which the Commandant anſwer'd he believ'd it, & therefore adviſed them to diſperſe & mind their hunting & planting

planting, for if they perſiſted it wou'd end in their utter Ruin. To which they hung their Heads & one of them ſaid he believ'd it. They ſaid they had fourteen Priſoners & Mr. Schloſſer, all of whome the Commandant demanded, as one of the Indians we had in Cuſtody was one of the firſt Men in the Nation. To which they did not give a poſitive Anſwer but went to hold a Council. 1763. June.

Every thing quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Day we permitted ſome more of the Puttawattamees to ſpeak to the two we had in Cuſtody. 11

All quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

Yeſterday one Cavalier ariv'd from Montreal who inform'd us that at Grand River, within thirty Miles of the End of Lake Erie, ſeven Engliſh Battoes with Merchandize was attack'd by ſome Indians, five of which were taken, the other two made their eſcape; that there was one Laſcelle with him from Montreal at the ſame Time who return'd to Niagara. 12

At five o'Clock about thirty Indians ariv'd at Pondiacs Camp from Saggina, who made with what he had in Camp 168 Indians beſides 250 that went down the River a few Days ago as it was ſaid to cut off the Communication at Niagara. Neither Cavalier nor young Laſcelle, who ariv'd two Days before him, are yet come into the Fort altho Laſcelle ariv'd two Days before the other, they ſay the Indians have threatened to kill them if they come nearer than a certain Diſtance.

All quiet to day. The Day before yeſterday and to day made Sorties and burnt ſome out Houſes and Gardens. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

Yeſterday and to day we buried five Corps that we took up in the River, two of whom we knew but the reſt

1763. June. reſt was ſo mangled that it was impoſſible for any body to have the leaſt Knowledge of them.

13 Nothing extraordinary to day. Three of the Puttawattamees came and ſpoke with the two we had in Cuſtody, who declar'd to us that they knew nothing of this Affair till they ariv'd at their Village below the Fort, when much to their Surprize they heard a great firing. That they never had any Meſſage ſent to them about it, nor was they conſulted in any Manner whatever, but was forc'd into it by the Ottawas. Upon which the Commandant aſk'd them if they were the Slaves of Pondiac, at which they hung their Heads; he then told them what he had told them before with regard to their diſperſing, and that they wou'd ſee in the End that the Ottawas wou'd kill Pondiac for bringing them into ſuch an Undertaking, for that they, and every one that join'd heartily with them, wou'd be ruined; as they wou'd forfeit their Lands and be depriv'd of all the Neceſſaries of Life. Upon which they promiſ'd to go to their Camps and ſend in their Corn, &c. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

14 Yeſterday we heard that Ouattanon was cut off and the Garriſon taken to the Illinois.[35]

Every thing quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

15 This Morning between eleven and twelve o'Clock one of the Chiefs of the Puttawattamees (named Waſhee) who took St. Joſephs, came with four or five others to change ſome of their Priſoners for the two that we had

[35] Ouatanon was a Fort on the Wabaſh, a little below the preſent Town of Lafayette. It was then under the Command of Lt. Edward Jenkins, who was taken on the firſt of June, by Stratagem, with ſeveral of his Men, when the Remainder of the Garriſon yielded without Reſiſtance. The Indians, however, apologized for their Conduct, by ſaying that they acted under the Influence of other Tribes and againſt their own better Judgments.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 243.

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in Cuſtody, and after talking near two hours, the Commandant got them to conſent to give Mr. Schloſſer and two Soldiers that they brought with them for one of them that he had, and promiſ'd them that when they brought the reſt of the Priſoners he wou'd give them the other. They did not ſeem to be well contented as they expected the Man of the moſt Conſequence in return for the Officer, but the Commandant was almoſt ſure that if he gave him up they would not give above one of the eleven that remain'd with them for the other, and therefore detain'd him. The Account Mr. Schloſſer gives of the way he was taken is, that about ſeventeen Puttawattamees came into his Fort under a Pretence of holding a Council, after they had engag'd the young Men of the Nation about him to join with them, to whom they promiſ'd all the Plunder after they were in the Fort, Waſhaſhe the Puttawattamy Chief went into his Room with three or four others, to whom he had preſented a Belt, as he cou'd ſpeak a little of their Language himſelf, for they had detain'd his Interpreter on the other Side of the River till every thing was ready, but before they had made him an Anſwer a Frenchman came in and told him their Deſign, upon which the cry was given in the Fort & they ſiez'd him immediately & the young Men that agreed to join him ruſh'd into the Fort, knocking down the Centinel and before the Men cou'd get to their Arms put ten of them to death, which Waſhſhe tryed to prevent but in vain, the remaining three and himſelf they took Priſoners. After this was done all the Chiefs of the S[t] Joſeph Indians came to Mr. Schloſſer and told him that they knew nothing of the Affair, that their young Men croſſ'd the River in the Night unknown to them, & deſir'd him to acquaint the Commandant here that they were not concern'd in the War, nor would not be. 1763. June.

1763. June. One of the Soldiers we got to day was taken at Miamee who gives the ſame Account of its being taken as we have already heard, with this Difference, that the Serj. after he heard the Shots that were fir'd at Mr. Holmes went out to ſee what it was & was taken Priſoner, after which they brought one Walch whome they had Priſoner to tell them what has been already mentioned, upon which they deliver'd up the Fort, and French Colours was immediately hoiſted in it, but does not know wheather it was the French or Indians that hoiſted them. This Evening we were inform'd from good Authority that Saggina Indians had been with Mr. Labute to deſire him to ſpeake to the Commandant to make Peace with them, that they had not yet enter'd into the War, that is they had neither kill'd any body nor did they take any Merchants. To which Mr. Labute anſwer'd they knew well enough he dared not go to the Fort, that if Pondiac knew he ſpoke to the Engliſh he would put him to death, and told them they muſt come themſelves.

All quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. We are aſſured that all the Chiefs of the Hurons are peacibly inclin'd but there is a Band of 25 young Men that they cant bring over Part of whome are gone to Niagara with the Ottawas.

16 This Day at twelve o'Clock Waſhſhe with two other Puttawattame Chiefs, & two Saggina Indians[37] came with a Flag to ſpeake to the Commandant. After they enter'd the Fort one of the Puttawattamees got up with a String of Wampam & deſir'd to be heard. That what they had already told him was true, & that what they were going to ſay was from their Hearts, upon which he preſented the Wampam.

[37] One of the latter was Mindoghquay. He returned to the Fort Dec. 12th, tendering his Friendſhip.

He

He then took another String and told the Commandant that the two Saggina Indians were ſent in the Name of all their Chiefs, that they were Brothers, and their Hearts inclin'd the ſame way. That they the Puttawattamees knew nothing of the Commencement of the War, but were hurried into it by the Ottawas, but they had now buried the Hatchet and it ſhou'd never riſe again. Upon which they preſented the Wampam. Then took another String & ſaid they had ſent Meſſengers for the reſt of their Priſoners who ſhou'd be all deliver'd up as ſoon as they came in. Then one of the Saggina Indians got up with a String of Wampam & ſaid he was ſent in the Name of their Chief and deſir'd he might be heard. That their Hands and ours had always been join'd ſince we took Poſſeſſion of this Country, and they never ſhou'd be parted; that they had not enter'd into the War at all, that their Hearts were the ſame as the Puttawattamees, and intended to remain ſo; that he ſpoke the real Sentiments of the Hearts of all their Chiefs, which he deſir'd we ſhou'd believe, knowing that if he told lies the great God wou'd be offended at him, upon which he preſented the Wampam. Then the Commandant took a ſmall Belt and deſir'd to know before he gave them an Anſwer, wheather the Puttawattamee Chiefs that were there ſpoke only for their Bands in particular or for the whole Nation, to which they anſwer'd for the whole Nation. He then told them that he was glad they had open'd their Eyes and did not intend to perſiſt in a thing that muſt end in their Ruin, that the only thing they cou'd do to convince him of their good Intentions wou'd be to give up the reſt of their Priſoners and go to their Villages and tend their Corn & hunt. That he wou'd then recommend them to the General, and that they wou'd find every thing he told them was true.

1763. June.

1763. June. true. That the Peace was actually made between the French and us, and if they perſiſted in a Thing of this kind we ſhould not only fight againſt them, but the Canadians (the People they thought they were fighting for) wou'd alſo take Arms againſt them as we were all one. That he knew they were made to believe there was no Peace & that there was an Army coming from the Illinois, but thoſe that told them ſo, told lies, & were their Enemies, which they wou'd ſoon ſee. That if they took his Advice & did as he deſir'd them they might live for the Future in Tranquility as they had done before, and ſee the Ottawas ſtarving in the Woods for want of the Neceſſaries of Life that they cou'd no ways get but from us. Then preſented the Belt.

The Saggina Indians further ſaid that the Michilimackinac Indians wou'd not ſtrike and if Pondiac attempted to go towards that Poſt they would prevent him.

The Commandant then took another String and told the Saggina that he was glad to hear they were ſo well inclin'd & that they had more ſenſe than to be lead into a thing by the Ottawas (that wou'd be their Ruin). That he never intended any thing but Peace with them, that the Ottawas began the War without any Reaſon, that he was well pleaſ'd with their Behavior and would alſo recommend them to the General if they continued at their Villages in the ſame Tranquility that they ſaid they were then in. That they might be ſure every thing he ſaid was true which they wou'd find in the End, and deſir'd them not to give Ear to any Lies that might be ſpread amongſt them. Then gave the Wampam. Upon which the Saggina Indian ſaid he was glad to receive it, that the Chiefs wou'd believe when they ſaw his Mouth (as he call'd the Wampam) they were pitied. All quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

All

All quiet to day. This Evening we was told that a Cannon was heard at the Mouth of the River about 11 o'Clock this Morning, which muſt have been the Veſſel; a little after Sunſet we fir'd another to anſwer her. Upon the Report of the Cannon in the Morning ſeveral Indians were ſent off to ſee if ſhe was there or not. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 1763. June. 17

Since the firſt Information that we had of the Indian Intention of attacking the Veſſell with Batteaux, Capt. Hopkins lay on board of her every Night.

This Day the Jeſuiſt ariv'd from Michilimackinac, with the diſagreeable News of its being cut off by Treachery. The Particulars not yet come to Hand. All quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 18

This Day the Jeſuiſt came into the Fort, and brought a Letter[38] from Capt. Etherington by which we were inform'd, That the 2d June the Chippawas were playing at Croſſ[39] at Michilimackinac (three Days after they had a Council with him and profeſſ'd a great deal of Friendſhip. That upon the arrival of a Canoe from Saggina, one Mr. Tracy a Merchant went to the Waterſide to ſpeak to them which the Indians ſeeing ſaid to 19

[38] This Letter, dated June 12th, is publiſhed in *Parkman's Pontiac*, p. 596, from the Original, as preſerved in the State Paper Office of London. It is ſubſtantially the ſame as that of Capt. Claus, given on the following Pages. The Jeſuit referred to was Father Jonois, then ſtationed at L'Arbre Croche.

[39] The Game of La Croſſe, or Baggattway, is played with a Bat and Ball; two Poſts are planted in the Ground, about a Mile apart, and each Party having its Poſt, the object is to propel the Ball, which is placed in the Centre, toward the Poſt of the Adverſary. In the Ardor of Conteſt, if the Ball can not be driven to the deſired Goal, it is ſtruck in any Direction by which it can be diverted from that deſigned by the oppoſite Party.

A Game much ſimilar is ſtill played by the Iroquois of New York and Canada.—*Carver's Travels*, 201; *Smith's Hiſt. Wiſconſin*, i, 137; *N. Y. Senate Doc.*, 1850, *No.* 75, p. 81.

themſelves

1763. June. themſelves now is the Time, for if theſe People enter the Fort they will tell our Deſign, upon which they tomahawk'd Mr. Tracy and gave the Cry, & in an inſtant ſiez'd Capt. Etherington & Lieut. Leſſley who were at the Gate of the Fort looking at them playing, forc'd by the Centry and enter'd the Fort where they found their Squaws (who had been previouſly plac'd with their Tomahawks) with which they forc'd the Guard before they cou'd get under Arms, kill'd thirteen Men on the Spot with Lieut. Jamet who fought with his Sword againſt five for a long Time, but after receiving thirty-ſix Wounds fell in their Hands after which they cut off his Head and kill'd ſix of their Priſoners; they pillag'd all the Merchants and got fifty Barrels of Powder with Lead in Proportion. The Ottawas took the Officers and eleven of their Priſoners from them whome they keep at the Prieſts Houſe. Capt. Etherington then gave a written Authority to Mr. Langlad[40] to Com[d] in the Fort till further Orders, and recommended him Mr. Langlad and one Mr. Farli to the Commandant

[40] Sieur Auguſtine du Langlade, about 1750, became the Owner of moſt of the Lands around Green Bay, and his Deſcendants ſtill reſide there. He was a Man of Character and Education, and retained the poliſhed Manners of the French Metropolis. His Son, Charles Langlade, was a Native of this Country and in 1760 was commiſſioned by Louis XV, and appointed Second in Command at Michillimackinack, where he was reſiding at the Time of the Maſſacre. The Narrative of Alexander Henry, the Trader, gives an unfavorable impreſſion with regard to the Humanity of M. Langlade.

At the Time of the Attack, as the Indians were purſuing the Engliſh from one Retreat to another, Henry ruſhed into his Houſe and beſought him to afford an Aſylum. The Frenchman, who ſtood at his Window watching the Slaughter, looked at him a Moment and then turned again to the Window, ſhrugging his Shoulders and remarking, *Que voudriez-vous que j'en ferais?* "*What would you have me do?*" He afterwards willingly ſubmitted the Keys of his Houſe to allow the Savages to ſearch his Premiſes for Engliſh.—*Smith's Hiſt. Wiſconſin*, i, 346; *Henry's Travels.*

here

here as good Men & who did all in their Power for the good of the Service, as alſo the Jeſuiſt who has a great deal to ſay among the Indians.[41] 1763. June.

All quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

[41] The Circumſtances attending the Attack upon Michillimackinack and its Capture by the Indians, on the 4th of June are alſo ſet forth in the following Extract from a Letter written at Montreal by Capt. Daniel Claus to Sir William Johnſon:

"* * * 6th Aug. Whilſt I am writing this, my Landlord tells me that Capt. [George] Etherington and Lieut. [James] Leſſley paſſed the Door coming from Miſſilimak^k who I heare with all the Traders except one Traſey [Tracy] who was killed by the Enemy Ind^ns were eſcorted here by the Ottawas as living near that Place. I followed them immediately to the Gov^s, and there learned the News of them Parts, which is that a Parcell of Chippeways to the Number of 100 aſſembled near the Fort as cuſtomary in the Beginning of Summer, and diverted themſelves playing Football, and Cap^t Ethrington and Mr. Leſſley (not ſuſpecting the leaſt Treachery, having then not heard a Word of Detroit being beſieged by the Enemy Indians) ſtood out of the Fort to ſee the Indians Play: that on a Signal given by a Yell, they both were ſeized and bound, and that the ſame Inſtant the Centries were tomahawked, likewiſe Mr. James, who was Officer of the Day in the Fort, together with 18 Soldiers killed and taken. Then the Traders were plundered and taken Priſoners; that afterwards themſelves were dragged to the Chippeways' Encampment where the Spoil was divided, and a Council held, in what Manner the Officers were to be put to Death. In the mean Time the News reached the Ottawa Town 30 Miles from Miſſilimakinak, who without any Delay ſat off armed to Miſſilimakinak, and inquired into the Reaſon of the Chippeways Behaviour. The latter had nothing to ſay but that a few Days before the Blow, they received Belts of Wamp^m from Pontiac, the Ottawas' Chief at Detroit, in conjunction with y^e Chiefs of their Nation living there, informing them of the Rupture with the Engliſh, and deſiring them to cut off Miſſilim^k. The Ottawas were ſurpriſed and chagreend and inſiſted upon the Chipways delivering up the Priſ^rs, &c.

The latter to reconcile themſelves with the Ottawas, made up a Heap of Goods and put Mr. Laſſley & 2 Soldiers by them as their Share of the Prey, but they would not accept of it, and demanded all the Priſ^rs. The Chipways at laſt gave way and delivered over Mr. Laſſley and the Soldiers and demanded a Ranſom for the Traders, which they agreed to, and being every one exchanged they took them into their

This

1763. June. 20 This Morning the Commanding Officer gave the Jeſuiſt ſome Memorandum of what he ſhould ſay to the Indians & French at Michilimackinac, as alſo to Capt. Etherington, as he did not chooſe to carry a Letter ſaying that if he was aſk'd by the Indians if he had any he would be oblig'd to ſay yes, as he never told a lie in his life. He gave him a Belt to give to the Ottawas there, deſiring him to tell them that he was very well pleaſ'd with their not meddling in an Affair that muſt end in their Ruin.

That if they ſend their Priſoners to Montreal, it will convince the General of their good Intentions for which they will be probably well rewarded.

To give his Compliments to Mr. Langlad and Mr. Farli and thank them for their good Offices which he exhorts them to continue. To deſire them to try and prevent as much as poſſible all Commerce with our

Care and afterwards eſcorted them ſafe to this Place. The Officers and Traders can not ſay enough of the good Behaviour of theſe Ottawas and Gen[l] Gage is reſolved to uſe and reward them well for their Behaviour. As Capt. Etherington is going to Gen. Amherſt, you will doubtleſs hear the Particulars of the whole Affair. By what I can find none but the Chipeways at Miſſilim[k] and thoſe of the ſame Nation & Ottawas at Detroit, are concerned in the preſent Breach. All the reſt of the weſtern Nations, and even ſome Chipways living at the Falls of St. Mary would not engage or receive the Belts ſent by Pontiac, and on the contrary are very well inclined to our Intereſt, in particular the Nations living at La Bay, and the Sioux, who are always at War with the Chipways; and if the Ind[ns] now here (among whom there are ſome other Nat[s] as they come here in behalf of 8 Nat[s] to the weſtward who aſſure us of their Friendſhip) leave this ſatisfied; it may be of infinite Service w[ch] I intend to repreſent to Gen. Gage, and I believe you will approve of making them handſome Preſents as an Encouragement for their good Behaviour, and the only Means of chaſtiſing thoſe villainous Nations who are the Occaſion of this unhappy Event. * * *" —*MSS. of Sir William Johnſon*, vol. vii.

The Circumſtances of the Capture of Michillimackinack, have been related with great Minuteneſs by Alexander Henry, an Eye witneſs, who narrowly eſcaped the Maſſacre.—*Henry's Travels.*

Enemies

Enemies, above all Ammunition & Arms. That he authorizes Mr. Langlad to Command in the Fort according to the Orders given him by Capt. Etherington till further Orders. 1763. June.

To deſire Capt. Etherington to try to advertiſe the Governor of Montreal of what has happened as ſoon as poſſible, and to ſend back all Merchants that may be on the way, Engliſh or French, if they find from Circumſtances of Affairs it is neceſſary. To tell him all the News that he has heard from us that might be depended upon regarding the Poſts that has been ſurpriz'd and murdered, and that the diffinitive Treaty was ſign'd at London the 20th of February according to the Articles of the Sceſſation of Arms.

This Day we heard that ſome Shawanees were ariv'd at the Hurons who ſay that all this Nation (except a few who watch the Motions of the Army near Fort Pitt) are ſeveral Leagues below on the Ohio, who remain there to intercept the Army that is coming from Fort Pitt.

That upon their receiving the Belt, they were order'd to ſtrike againſt the Engliſh, upon which they commenc'd by killing fifteen Merchants that was amongſt them in different Towns.

Yeſterday a Saggina that was in the Fort with the Puttawattamees was here & rec^{d} a Belt from the commanding Officer which he was to preſent to the Nation to tell them that it was his Advice that they ſhould remain quiet as they ſaid they had done, as thoſe that enter'd in the War wou'd ſurely be ruined in the End. Some few Shots fir'd to day at the Veſſel at a great Diſtance. A Sortie was made to day to cut down & burn ſome Pickets between Mr. Babies & the Fort. The Garriſon lay upon their Arms.

This Morning fir'd two Guns down the River, being 22

1763. June. ing inform'd that the Veſſel was there. Made a Sortie and pull'd down a good many Pickets and cut an Orchard that was near the Fort.

At eleven o'Clock about fifty Indians came to Mr. Babies and fir'd briſkly at the Veſſel and Fort, they kill'd one Man on board the Veſſel & wounded another.

Two Hours after which they went over the River and the Hurons join'd them & the Puttawattamies to attack the Veſſel, but we do not know yet whether the Veſſel is there, or wheather that was their real Deſign. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

23 This Day a few Shot were fir'd at the Fort and Veſſel as uſual.

This Evening we were inform'd that the Veſſel was not at the Mouth of the River, but that the Indians thought ſhe was and went & made a kind of an Entrench[t] at the Iſle au Deinde[42] where the Channel is narrow in order to fire upon her as ſhe paſſ'd. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

24 Some few Shots were fir'd at the Fort this Morning. Capt. Hopkins with twenty Men made a Sortie this Afternoon, imagining there was ſome few Indians in the neighbouring Houſes but did not find any. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

25 A few Shot fir'd as uſual at the Veſſel & Fort to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

26 [Sunday.] This Day Pondiac went to Maſs on the other Side of the River & after it was over he took three Chairs that belong'd to the People for himſelf and his Guard to ride in to look for Proviſion making the French his Chair men. He gave Billets to the People for their Cattle ſign'd with his Mark, with the Imita-

[42] Turkey Iſland, on the eaſt Side of the main Channel, and now included in Canada.

tion

tion of a Coon drawn on the Top of each Billet.[43] Nothing Extraordinary. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 1763. June.

Pondiac ſent another Meſſage to the Commandant telling him there was nine hundred Indians aſſembled at Michilimackinac, and that as he had Compaſſion on him deſir'd him to ſurrender himſelf, that the Garriſon wou'd be well uſ'd, but if he waited till thoſe Indians ariv'd he wou'd not be anſwerable for the Conſequences. That the Roads were all ſhut up round us and we cou'd receive no Succour. 27

To which the Commandant anſwer'd as he had done before, that he wou'd not give him an Anſwer to any thing he aſk'd till he ſent back Capt. Campbelle and Lieut. McDougal, whome he kept contrary to all the Laws of even Savages. That he might ſave himſelf the Trouble of ſending any more for he wou'd not anſwer to any thing till theſe two Gentlemen were return'd. Soon after Pondiac ſent Word by one that was paſſing, that he had too great a Regard for Capt. Campbell & McDougal than to ſend them to the Fort, for if he did that, as the Kettle was on the Fire he ſhou'd be oblig'd to boil them with the reſt.

A few Shot fir'd at the Fort and Veſſell as uſual. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Afternoon at five o'Clock we were inform'd that the Scooner[44] enter'd the River at 10 this Morn- 28

[43] Theſe Bills of Credit were drawn on Birch bark, and were promptly redeemed by Pontiac. Rogers ſtates that they bore the figure of an Otter. The great Indian Chieftain was evidently aſſiſted to the Idea by ſome of the Canadians. The Contributions were all collected at the Houſe of Meloche near Parent's Creek, and a vain and conceited old Frenchman, named Quilleriez, acted as Commiſſary.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 225.

[44] This was the Schooner *Gladwyn* that had ſailed for Niagara on the 21ſt of May, and was now returning with Lieut. Cuyler and the

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1763. June. ing; at 6 ſhe came in Sight after paſſing the Iſle au Deinde where there was at leaſt 160 Indians hid in Holes who fir'd upon her all the while at a little Diſtance, as the Channel is not above a hundred Yards wide. The Wind failing her ſhe drop'd Anchor about four Miles from the Fort.

A few Shot were fir'd to day at the Veſſel & Fort as uſual. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

As it was imagin'd the Indians wou'd attack the Scooner, the Commanding Officer made a Feignt as if he wou'd land ſome Troops in Batteaux which the Indians hearing ſo alarm'd them that they guarded the Edge of the River and dropp'd their Intention of attacking the Scooner.

29 The Wind contrary all Day till about 6 o'Clock, when it came a little favorable for about Half an Hour, of which the Scooner profited, weighing Anchor and coming in Sight of the Fort beyond the Huron Village.

This Day we heard that the Indians that went from this about twenty Days ago had taken Preſque Iſle, that they loſt three Men there, that the Way they took it was by ſetting fire to a ſmall Houſe that was cloſe to the Fort & which communicated the Fire to it, that they kill'd but three, & the Officer with ſeveral Priſoners was given to the Nations near that Place.[45]

remainder of his Company, together with ſuch Troops as could be ſpared from Niagara, in all numbering about fifty Men. To encourage an open Attack from the Indians who ſwarmed upon the Shores of the River and the Iſlands which divided its Channel, the greater Portion of her Men were kept out of Sight, ready to appear at a moment's Notice.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 253.

[45] The Fort at Preſque Iſle, was a large Block-houſe of ſolid Timber, the upper Story projecting on all Sides and roofed with Shingles. It ſtood on the Shore of Lake Erie, a little below the preſent buſineſs Part of Erie, Pa. It was aſſailed on the Morning of June 15th, by 200 Indians, chiefly from around Detroit, and after a Reſiſtance of three Days, which preſents few Parallels in deſpe-

This

This Day a few Shot fir'd from over the River, &c., as uſual. The Indians guarded the River ſide to night fearing a Sortie. The twenty-fifth at Night it was ſo Cold here that there was a very white Froſt. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 1763. June.

At 12 o'Clock the Wind ſprung up favourable for the Scooner when ſhe weigh'd Anchor and reach'd this about 3, with a Detachment of twenty-two Men from the 30th Regt and Lieut. Cuyler and twenty-eight Men of Capt. Hopkins's Compy of Rangers, with 150 Barrels of Proviſion and ſome Ammunition. Lieut. Cuyler informs us that Preſque Iſle was burn'd the 22d Inſtant after being attacked three Days. 30

We were inform'd this Evening that Pondiac had been demanding of the Inhabitants to aſſemble to dig Trenches, that if they refuſ'd it he wou'd put them to the Sword. The Hurons fir'd upon the Scooner all the while ſhe was paſſing and a great Number from Pondiacs Camp aſſembled at Mr. Babies & fir'd at the Boats that went & came from her after ſhe came to an Anchor.

One Serjeant and four Men were wounded in the Scooner a coming up the River. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts, except thoſe that came in the Scooner, who lay in their Quarters.

The Garriſon was employ'd this Morning in unloading & puting Ballaſt on board the Scooner. Mr. St. Martin & his Family came into the Fort to day, he being inform'd that the Hurons intended to take him to their Town to interpret for them. This Afternoon July 1.

rate Labor and unavailing Courage, the little Garriſon under Enſign Chriſtie ſurrendered on Condition that they ſhould be allowed to withdraw to the neareſt Poſt. With Characteriſtick diſregard of this Treaty, the unfortunate Men were ſeized and ſent Priſoners to Detroit.

Chriſtie was brought in by the Hurons and ſurrendered with ſeveral other Priſoners, July 9th.

the

1763. July. the Puttawattamees came with a Flag to ſpeake about giving up their Priſoners, five of whom they ſaid they had at their Village and whom they promiſ'd to bring in the next Day.

The Commandant recommended to them to bring them in as ſoon as poſſible & retire to their Villages, as he ſhould now make Sorties with great Bodies of Men, and if he ſhould meet with them ſhould treat them as Ennemies as it was not poſſible for him to diſtinguiſh the Nations one from another.

A few Shot were fir'd to day at the Fort & Veſſels. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

2 At three o'Clock this Morning Lieut. McDougal with an Albany Trader ariv'd at the Fort, having made their Eſcape from the Indians; about Half an Hour afterwards, another Priſoner ariv'd at the Scooner that made his Eſcape from the Hurons, who had been taken with one Crawford a Trader ſome Time ago.[46] Lieut. McDougal inform'd us that the Council the Indians held yeſterday to demand the French to join them & make Trenches, which was promiſ'd by one in the Name of all the young People. A Party was ſent out to Mr. St. Martins Houſe to cover a working Party near the Fort, which the Indians came to fire upon, and upon our ſending out a Reinforcement all the Hurons croſſ'd the River & came running up as far as Mr. Gamelins and after firing a few Shot at the Fort went back.

This Morning took Poſt in the two Block Houſes on the Hight that commands the Fort, and from which a Chief of the Saggina's was wounded in paſſing by the Edge of the Woods an Hour after.

This Evening we were inform'd that Pondiac had

[46] Crawford's Capture is related in this Diary for May 20. See p. 11.

taken

taken away Mr. Navarre, Mr. Hecotte and all the Heads of Familys on that Side of the Fort, but no body knew for what. 1763. July.

This Evening threw a Shell to try a Mortar that we had enlarg'd about Half an Inch. All the Garriſon except the old Guard lay on the Ramparts.

This Day Mr. Navarre wrote a Line to the Commandant informing him that the Inhabitants were oblig'd to write to him in Pondiacs Name for the laſt Time to ſurrender the Fort, and to let him know that if he wou'd not give it up they wou'd oblige all the Inhabitants to take up Arms. Accordingly Mr. Louis Campo came in with the Meſſage in the Evening, and at the ſame Time aſk'd Permiſſion to come into the Fort, which the Commandant agreed not only to him but every one that cou'd bring Proviſion with them. Mr. Babie & Mr. Recme who liv'd oppoſite the Fort came in with their Familys between eleven & twelve at Night, abandoning all they had except a few Moveables that they brought with them. 3

All the Garriſon lay on the Ramparts except twenty Men that were finiſhing a ſmall Ditch round the Fort.

This Day the Commandant collect'd the Inhabitants of the Fort and read the Articles of Peace to them & ſent a Copy of it over to the Prieſt on the other Side of the River.

This Morning early made a Sortie with thirty Men to cover a Party to bring in ſome Powder & Lead that was in Mr. Babies Houſe, after which we deſtroy'd an Entrenchment that the Indians had made, from which they annoy'd us. The Indians being advertiſ'd that we was out came down and Capt. Hopkins was ſent out with a Party of twenty Men more, who with nine or ten Frenchmen and the Party that was firſt out, purſued them as far as it was ſafe ; we took one Scalp and 4

1763. July. and wounded two or three more,[47] we had one Man wounded. While we were at Dinner Dr. Paulli enter'd the Fort having made his Eſcape in open Day light, by whome we were inform'd that the Indian we kill'd this Morning was the Son of the moſt conſiderable Chiefs of the Chippewas, and that we only wounded another. That upon their Arrival at the Camp he was inform'd that they were gone to look for Capt. Campbelle to kill him, upon which he form'd a Reſolution to attempt to ſave himſelf. He was dreſſ'd ſo like an Indian, his Hair being cut and painted in their Faſhion that no body knew him when he was brought in. This Evening we were inform'd that there was 140 Frenchmen gathered at the Hurons who had made an Agreement to defend one another againſt all Ennemies. Mr. Navarre publiſhed the Articles of Peace both to the French & Indians.

The French were aſſembled to day by orderd of the Commandant, who all rejoic'd to take up Arms to the Amount of about forty, and choſe Mr. Sterling to com^{d} them.

The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. Yeſterday we wounded an Indian with a Grape ſhot from the Veſſel behind the Breaſtwork at Mr. Babies Houſe.

This Morning Mr. Labute came into the Fort, and inform'd us that as ſoon as the Chippewas were inform'd that we had kill'd the Son of their great Chief they went to Pondiac and told him that he was the Cauſe of all their ill look, that he cauſ'd them to enter

[47] The Sortie of this Day was led by Lieut. Hay. One of his Men had long been a Priſoner with the Indians and had acquired in ſome Degree their ferocious Habits. Coming up to a wounded Savage, he tore off his Scalp and ſhook it with an exulting Cry towards the Enemy. This Act coſt the unfortunate Major Campbell his Life.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, p. 260.

into

into the War and did nothing himſelf, that he was very brave in taking a Loaf of Bread or a Beef from a Frenchman who made no Reſiſtance, but it was them that had all the Men kill'd and wounded every Day, & for that Reaſon they wou'd take that from him which he intended to ſave himſelf by in the End, then went and took Capt. Campbelle, ſtrip'd him, & carried him to their Camp, where they kill'd him, took out his Heart & eat it reaking from his Body, cut off his Head, and the reſt of his Body they divided into ſmall Pieces. 1763. July.

He likewiſe inform'd us that in a Quarter of an Hour after Mr. Paulle made his Eſcape upwards of a hundred Ottawas left their Camp in ſearch of him.

This Evening we were inform'd that the Ottawas found one of their Men dead in the Edge of the Woods oppoſite the Fort, who we ſuppoſed muſt have been kill'd from one of the Cavaliers. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Morning we were inform'd that we kill'd three Indians and wounded one in the Affair of yeſterday. 6

At 12 o'Clock the Commandant ſent the Sloop up to Pondiacs Camp under the com[d] of Capt. Hopkins and Enſign Paulli, but the Wind being very weak they had Time to remove almoſt all their things out of their Cabans & ſend their Women and Children away before ſhe ariv'd, however they fir'd near fifty Cannon at thoſe that were there, and threw ſeveral Shells amongſt them, we have not heard what Number was kill'd or wounded.

The Puttawattamees came with a Flag while the Sloop was battering their Camp, and after telling the Comm[t] that they had heard the Peace between the French and us proclaim'd, & that they believ'd it, and the ſeveral Chiefs with their Bands were gone & going

1763. July. to leave Pondiac, they aſk'd him to give them the Indian we had for two of our Priſoners that they wou'd bring in. Upon which the Commandant told them that he wou'd ſtill ſtand to what he had told them before with regard to changing Priſoners, that notwithſtanding all they had promiſ'd the laſt Time they were with him, they went down the River and fir'd againſt the Scooner when ſhe was coming up, and a few Days before ſtole two Horſes from him, notwithſtanding all which, to ſhow that he pitied them if they wou'd bring in all their Priſoners & the Horſes, & promiſe not to do any more Miſchief either to the French or Engliſh, as we were now one, he wou'd give up the Indian he had, and wou'd recommend them to the General, but if they made the leaſt Difficulty in it he wou'd not hear them any more and they muſt take the Conſequences of his Diſpleaſure, upon which they hung their Heads and ſaid they found every thing that he had told them to be true, and could not deny what they were accuſ'd with, and not only promiſ'd to do all he aſk'd of them, but that none of their Nation was to come nearer the Fort than Mr. Campo's Mill, about a Mile from it.

Pondiac who always told the French that we were all dead Men that were in the Fort, cou'd not help acknowledging to day that we were come to life & that he was ruin'd. The Garriſon lay on their Arms.

7 This Day the Puttawattamees came with a Flag for a Belt of Wampam that the Commandant promiſ'd them to carry to the reſt of their Nation at St. Joſephs & to the Miamees to tell them what they had done & how much they were pitied by the Commandant whoſe Adviſe they muſt always follow; which Belt they got with a Letter to the Interpreter there deſiring to tell the Indians what he had promiſ'd the Puttawattamees here as they were the firſt that offer'd to make Peace, viz.

viz. if they continued quiet for the Future and minded their hunting he would recommend them to the General, who he made no doubt wou'd forgive them, as he believ'd they had no hand in the War, further than that ſome of their young men were led into it before they knew what they were doing. 1763. July.

The Hurons came at the ſame Time and told the Commandant that neither they nor the Puttawattamees knew any thing of this Affair at the Commencement, for Pondiac never conſulted them about it until he had got ſuch a Number of Men together that overpower them both, and then he told them his Deſign & threatened them that if they would not join with him he would cut them to pieces. That notwithſtanding which they never did any thing but fire one Day againſt the Fort except a Band or two of their young Men whome they cou'd not then command.

The Commandant told them he believ'd it, and aſk'd them if they did not now ſee that every thing he told them was true, which they cou'd not deny. He then promiſ'd them the ſame he had done to the Puttawattamees, if they would give up all their Priſoners & behave well for the Future. He told them he cou'd not make Peace with them, but as he told the Puttawattamees wou'd recommend them to the General.

They promiſ'd to do all he deſir'd of them, but told him it wou'd take them two or three Days, as all the Priſoners that were adopted in the Room of the People they had loſt muſt be given up by the Conſent of thoſe that had them, as they were given to them by the Nation.

We imagine that the Reaſon of the Hurons coming to day was in Conſequence of the Commandants ſending the Sloop yeſterday to batter the Camp of the Ottawas & Chippewas, by which they ſaw how much they

1763. July. they were in our Power. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

8 All quiet to day except a few Shot being fir'd as uſual at the Fort & Veſſel at a great Diſtance. Several of the principal Inhabitants brought in their Goods yeſterday & to day, and one Maiſonville brought five Pittiaugers[48] loaded with 10,000 weight of Lead & Peltry into the Fort tho the Indians knew he was coming with it; if it had fallen into their hands it wou'd have been a fine Prize, but he being reſolute & acquainted with their Manners & Cuſtoms took ſuch Opportunitys that he ariv'd safe. He was at Outattanon when it was taken. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

9 This Morning ſix of the Huron Chiefs came in and brought Enſign Chriſtie, a Soldier of the R. A. Rangers, a Woman & Child and five other Priſoners, and after telling the Commandant that they were drawn into the War before they knew where they were and many things to the ſame Purpoſe of what they had told him the 7th Inſtant, they aſk'd him if it was not adviſable for them to retire until ſuch Time as we receiv'd Succours enough to aſſiſt them in caſe they ſhould be attack'd, which he told them to do, and when the Army ariv'd deſir'd them to come back that they might ſhow their Sincerity.

They intended to go and join the Puttawattamees & build a kind of Stockade upon the River Huron to defend themſelves againſt the Ottawas in caſe they ſhould declare War againſt them. All quiet to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

10 Laſt Night at twelve o'Clock the Enemy made a large Float with Four Batteaus, which they fill'd with Faggots, Birtch Bark & Tar, and other Combuſtibles

[48] Perigua, a narrow Ferry boat, carrying two Maſts and a Lee-board.—*Webſter's Dict.*

which

which they brought into the Middle of the Stream about a Half a Mile above the Veſſels & ſet on Fire, but the Veſſels being properly moor'd let go one of their Cables and ſheer'd off from it, letting it paſs at about a hundred & fifty Yards Diſtance. 1763. July.

This we ſuppoſe was not entirely the Invention & Work of Indians.

At 4 o'Clock ſome of the Miamee Indians came within three hundred Yards of the Fort with a Flag, with an Intention to ſpeake to the Commandant about one Levy they had Priſoner, but not daring to come any nearer they ſent in a Liſt of Things by a Frenchman that he had promiſ'd them if they wou'd give him up. But the Commandant ſent them Word he wou'd not give them any thing.

The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. Not a Shot fir'd to day.

This Day the Hurons brought in the Goods (that had fallen to the Share of three or four Bands) that belong'd to Chapman & Levy & others, as alſo a Panee that had been adopted in the Family of one Babi, which was a very extraordinary thing, as they ſeldom give up a Priſoner that is adopted. 11

Yeſterday Pondiac was at the Huron Village with fifteen of his beſt Warriors compleatly arm'd to frighten them, but it had no effect with Babi & Theata & two or three other Chiefs as appeared from their Teſtimony to day. They told the Commandant that they had not yet brought the reſt of the Nation to Reaſon, but hop'd in a little Time to do it, when they wou'd give up their Priſoners & their Merchandiſe; they alſo told the Commandant the Name of a Frenchman who had bought a gold Watch of them for 2000 Wampam.

The Commandant told them that if they cou'd not bring the reſt of the Nation to do as they did they muſt

1763. July. muſt abandon them, as by & by when the Army came it wou'd be too late for them to make any offers.

We heard to day that the Miamee Indians were gone off with Mr. Levy.

This Night & between 12 & one o'Clock the Indians ſent down another large fire Float which paſſ'd without doing any Damage. They had made two, but Capt. Hopkins, who was on board the Sloop, fir'd a Cannon at them as ſoon as he perceiv'd the firſt & frightened them ſo that they jump'd out of their Cannoes & let the other go without being light'd, which we tow'd on ſhore. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

12 This Morning the Puttawattamees came again with Mr. Chapman, one Crawford & another Priſoner of Capt. Hopkin's Company, & promiſ'd to bring the reſt as ſoon as they arriv'd. Accordingly at 4 in the Afternoon they came with four Royal Americans two of the Rangers & one of Mr. Crawford's Men, & demanded their Brother, but the Commandant told them what he told them before, that when they brought in all the Priſoners he would let him out, knowing by our Priſoners that they had ſome more, they promiſ'd to bring them the next Day or as ſoon as they cou'd be got together, & wou'd bury every thing that had paſſed in their next Speech.

They brought an Ottawa with them which the Commandant was inform'd of, and upon enquiry found that he came to ſee where the Fort was moſt acceſſable, that they might ſet Fire to it, upon which he told the Puttawattamees that they had an Ottawa with them. They then ſeeing he was diſcover'd ſaid he was left with them by a Band that was gone home, to bring them the News of the finiſhing their Peace with us, but the Command^t told them if he let him out again the

the Ottawas would laugh at him & deſir'd them to aſk him in caſe he ſhou'd ſend one of his to their Camp if they thought their Chiefs wou'd not do the ſame. 1763. July.

He then deſir'd the Interpreter to tell them that he wou'd not uſe him as they had done Capt. Campbelle & the reſt of our Priſoners, but would guard him for the Security of the reſt until they brought them all in.

At 4 o'Clock this Afternoon the Scooner ſet ſail for Niagara, but the Wind failing ſhe drop'd Anchor about 4 Miles off.

Since the Proclamation of the Peace, the French that were in the Fort were put under the Command of Mr. Sterling. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Morning at about Half paſt two, our outlying Centrys fir'd upon two or three Indians that were crall- ing to the Fort, but one of them being a Frenchman & afraid got up and run away, calling out Je ſuis François, at which Time the Indians fir'd at them & ſhot him through the Body, but he is not yet dead. 13

At one o'Clock the Puttawattamees came in with a white Belt and made many Profeſſions of Friendſhip, but their chief Errant was to try to get the Ottawa that the Commandant detain'd yeſterday. But the Com- mandant told them they wou'd do better if they wou'd not even ſpeake to that Nation, as they only ſought their Ruin.

They promiſ'd to bring in all the Priſoners they had to the Number of ſix belonging to their Village if the Commandant would give them their Man, which he told them he would do, as he thought they were ſincere.

They gave him a white Belt as a Token of their Fidelity & Friendſhip & he promiſ'd them another when they came back, as he had not any then made that was proper. The Garriſon lay upon the Ramparts.

This

1763. July. 14 This Day an Ottawa from Michilimackinac came into the Fort and after a long Story was going to ſay ſomething about the Indian that the Commandant detain'd the 12 Inſtant, but he finding what he was going to ſay told him ſomething that ſtop'd him from making any Demands. All quiet. The Garriſon lay on the

15 Ramparts.

This Day one Clermont who was formerly Major in the Militia came into the Fort and inform'd the Commandant that moſt of the young Men in his Departm[t] were going to Illinois, and aſk'd if he thought proper to ſend an Order to them not to leave the Settlement without his Permiſſion (though he had already given a general one) which the Commandant did with Power to him or any of the Officers of Militia to bring them back with a Party of Men in caſe they ſhould go off. This Day we were inform'd that the Ottawas & Chippawas had quarrel'd and were going to ſeparate.

16 All quiet. The Garriſon lay on their Arms.

The 13 Inſtant the Wind blew freſh at N. W. and continued till the 14th when it was eaſterly till the Evening ſhe came about weſterly and blew freſh all the next Day and to day S. W. ſo that we imagin'd the Scooner muſt have been at Niagara ſome Time laſt Night, or at furtheſt to day.

All quiet to day. We heard this Morning that the Ottawas were encamp'd on a Plain about a League off.

17 The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Afternoon we were inform'd that the Indians had broke down two Barns to make ſix large Rafts, which they were to tie together to burn the Veſſel but they did not ſend them. At 11 o'Clock two Frenchmen came to the Fort for Arms & Flints, informing us that the Jeſuiſt had ſent Word from the other Side of the River that the Hurons & Puttawattamees intend

tend to fall upon the French on the south-weſt Side of the Fort. But they did not. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 1763. July.

Yeſterday the Wind S. W. to day N. E. This Day we were inform'd that the Float they were making was 300 Foot long. We were alſo inform'd that all the young Men towards the Groſs Point intended to go off to the Illinois as they were afraid of being hang'd. 18

At about 11 o'Clock ſome Ottawas came down oppoſite the Sloop and call'd out to them ſeveral Times to go over to them with ſome Rum, &c. which they anſwer'd. When the Garriſon call'd all was well, they were very angry & fir'd over the River, which the People on board obſerving fir'd three or four Muſquets in return, & by Accident wounded one of them. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Day about ſixty Indians as neer as we cou'd gueſs, came within about 350 Yards of the Fort in ſome Orchards and fir'd upon the Fort. We threw a Shell amongſt them but unluckily it did not break, which gave them great Joy by their crying; however we prepar'd another, and while they were taking the firſt one up we fir'd it & it fell directly amongſt them & burſt about three foot from the Ground, and as they run away fir'd another after them, but have not yet heard wheather any of them was kill'd or wounded, tho every body imagin'd there was, as they went off without making one Cry. 19

This Evening we were inform'd that the Enemy were making twenty-four Rafts of about 30 Foot long each, four of which were finiſh'd. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

This Day we fited up a large Batteau with a Pattararoe that carried a three pound Ball. 20

We were inform'd that there was one Indian wounded

1763. July. with the Shell yeſterday. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. The Wind weſterly & freſh.

21 This Day fitted up a ſecond Batteau as the one mentioned yeſterday. The Wind S. W. all Day & pretty freſh. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

22 This Morning Mr. L. Campo inform'd us that about the Middle of June the Ottawas of Michilimackinac brought off the Garriſon at LaBay,[49] without doing any further harm than killing one Man, who was kill'd by the Chippewas; the Renards[50] and Folls a voines[51] Nations came with them to Michilimackinac, but finding them well diſpoſ'd turn'd back.

The Ottawas of Michilimackinac ſay that they brought off Mr. Gorrel & his Garriſon fearing the Chippewas wou'd kill them. The Wind S. W. all Day & pretty freſh. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

23 The Wind S. W. and freſh the moſt part of the Day. The Commandant & ſeveral Officers went out of the Fort, ſome on Horſeback & ſome on Foot, at whom

[49] The Poſt at Green Bay, was then garriſoned by Lieut. Gorell, who, upon receiving a Letter from Captain Etherington of Michillimackinack, informing him of the Events at that Place, and adviſing him to withdraw and join him, ſummoned the neighboring Indians, ſtated to them that the public Service required him to leave them for a while, and committing the Fort to their Care during his Abſence, he departed.

The Dacotahs were hereditary Enemies to the Ojibwas, and in Caſe of Hoſtility would have been active Auxiliaries of the Engliſh.—*Parkman's Pontiac*, 321.

[50] Renards, the Foxes. This Tribe belonged to the Ottawa Confederacy and numbered about 320 Warriors.—*Sir William Johnſon's Report*, 1763.

[51] The Volles Avoines (Wild Oat) Tribe, according to Sir Wm. Johnſon's Report to the Board of Trade, dated Nov. 18th of this Year, numbered 110 Warriors, and formed a Part of the Ottawa Confederacy. In 1736, they numbered 160 Warriors, reſided North of Lake Michigan and bore as their armorial Device the large tailed Bear, the Stag and a Kilion (a Species of Eagle), perched on a Croſs.—*N. Y. Col. Hiſt.*, vii, 582, ix, 1055.

the

the Indians fir'd a good many Shot but without doing Execution. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 1763. July.

The Wind S. & S. W. the moſt part of the Day. This Day the two Batteaux were ſent up the River to look at the Situation of the Enemys Camp & try to bring off any Cannoes or Fire Floats that might be convenient, but there was none to be come at without running a Riſk of loſing more Men than they were worth; however they oblig'd them to throw away their Ammunition, as they lin'd the Sides of the River & fir'd very briſkly from each Side without even wounding a Man. The Batteaux now falling down with the Stream & then rowing up again, on purpoſe to draw their fire, as we were well inform'd they had not much Ammunition. 24

This Day we were inform'd that there was about 70 Chippawas ariv'd from Michilimackinac, among whome were 5 of the Foles a voines but not one Ottawas. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

The Wind S. & S. weſterly all Day, but not ſtrong. Nothing Extraordinary to day. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts. 25

This Morning Mr. Nauvarre ſent in ſome Letters that were brought from the Illinois in conſequence of ſome that were wrote by the Inhabitants of this Place ſome Time in May. The Meſſengers alſo brought ſome for Pondiac. 26

This Morning were inform'd that yeſterday there was a Council at the Huron Village with the Shawanees that are come; that one Andrew, a Huron who undertook to go to Fort Pitt ſome Time ago, came with them & ſays he was hinder'd by them to go on, that he was at Venango when it was taken & that all the Garriſon was put to death without Exception; it was taken in the ſame Manner with the reſt, fifteen went in to ſpeak to the Commandant & forty remain'd without

1763. July. without, & while they were in Council the forty ruſh'd in & put the Garriſon to death.[52] The Wind weſterly.

The People in general ſeem'd to be a little caſt down on the Return of their Meſſengers from the Illinois, from which we imagin'd they had not receiv'd ſuch Anſwers as they expected. The Letters they wrote were ſent from this about the Middle of May, unknown to the Commandant. The Garriſon lay on the Ramparts.

27 This Morning André the Huron came into the Fort, who told us that he was not at the taking of Venango & that the Reaſon he ſaid to the Ottawas that he was there, was becauſe they would ſuſpect him, but that all the Indians that he ſaw near the Ohio told him ſo. That he was ſtop'd upwards of twenty Days by different Party's of Indians and that in trying to croſs a River to get from one of them, he loſt his Letters, that he did not dare to go into the Fort as he wou'd have nothing to ſhow, & knowing that the Indians had commenc'd Hoſtility's there, altho he was on the oppoſite Side of the River. He likewiſe inform'd us that the Delawares had kill'd all their Priſoners in conſequence of the Prophecy's of one of their Nation who pretended that he had been to Heaven and was told by God that they muſt put all the Engliſh to death, but not to burn any as was ſometimes their Cuſtom, otherwiſe we ſhou'd overcome them. He alſo inform'd us that all the Hurons except the Bands of Babi, Theata & another Chief, with Part of the Put-

[52] Venango was garriſoned by a ſmall Party under Lieut. Gordon, and as every Man within it periſhed, we have no Hiſtory of the Details except the Narrative of Indians, and the Traces of its Ruins. The Men were all ſlaughtered on the firſt Attack, except Lieut. Gordon, who was reſerved for the moſt refined Tortures by Fire that Savage Ingenuity could invent. This done, they burnt the Place and departed. —*Parkman's Pontiac*, 337.

tawattamees

tawattamees had ſung the War Song again, but that the Hurons, or Wiandots told the Ottawas that notwithſtanding that, they wou'd not fight. 1763. July.

He alſo told the Commandant that as he was ſuſpected, being ſo long away & not being at Fort Pitt, if he would give him Letters again he wou'd go & return in twenty Days. Upon which the Commandant told him he did not ſuſpect him, and as Proof wou'd ſend him again & deſir'd him to come the next Day in the Evening & he wou'd have every thing ready for him, tho at the ſame Time he cou'd not be otherwiſe than ſuſpected, but as he was a very knowing fellow & had a good deal to ſay among the Indians it was thought beſt by the Interpreter and every body that was preſent to try him again, as he might change ſeeing the Confidence we put in him, tho he had been acting the Knave before. The Wind ſoutherly.

This Day we were inform'd by Mr. Sterling that Madamoiſelle Cuerfiere told him that Godfoy told Pondiac when he return'd from the Illinois that he cou'd not ſend him any Succours yet as they had heard by a Spaniſh Veſſel that the Peace was made, but that as ſoon as his Couriers ariv'd that he had ſent to New Orleans if he found the News to be falſe he wou'd ſee what he cou'd do, & deſir'd that the Inhabitants ſhou'd not appear in it at all, but keep themſelves quiet. 28

This Morning ſix Frenchmen ſet off in a burch Canoe for Niagara with Letters from the Commandant. This Evening Andre came in & took the Commandants Letters for Fort Pitt. The Wind ſoutherly.

This Morning at Half paſt four o'Clock, it being very foggy, we heard the Report of ſeveral Muſquets & now and then as we thought Swivels at the Huron Village, which we [thought] to be ſome Indians firing at the Scooner, as ſhe might have come that far up the River 29

1763. July. River without our ſeeing her in the Night, but in about Half an Hour to our great Surprize, we ſaw about twenty Batteaux, which upon their coming near we found to be Engliſh Boats, with a Detach[t] of about 260 Men under the Comm[d] of Capt. Dalyel.[53] They came the ſouth Side of the Lake & burn'd a ſmall Indian Village near Sanduſky that the Indians had abandoned. They had fourteen Men wounded in paſſing the Huron Village.

In the Evening we ſaw ſome Fires at the Huron Town which was ſaid to be ſome Cannoes that they ſet on fire as they were gone away. It was given out by the French to Pondiac (as we were inform'd) that it was not a new Detachment, but that the Commandant had ſent out his young Men as they cou'd under the Cover of the Fogg, and row'd up the River again to make them believe it was Succours that ariv'd. The Wind S. weſterly all Day.

30 The Wind S. weſterly. This Morning André ſet off for Fort Pitt. Nothing Extraordinary to day. Two Priſoners ſav'd themſelves to night from the Indians.

31 This Morning at three Quarters after two a Detachment of 247 Men under the Command of Capt. Dalyel march'd out with an Intention to ſurprize the Indian Camp about three Miles & a half from the Fort.[54]

[53] James Dalyell (ſometimes written *Dalzell*) had been appointed a Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment or Royal Americans, early in 1756, and in 1760 obtained a Company in the 2d Battalion of the Royals, or the 1ſt Regiment of Foot. He periſhed in a brave but indiſcreet Attack upon the Enemy ſoon after his Arrival at Detroit, as ſtated in the following Pages.

[54] The following Paragraph had been written in the MSS. next following this, and eraſed:

"It was given out yeſterday Morning by the French that we intended to attack them, but they

But

1763. July.

But whether the Enemy were inform'd of it or diſcover'd them in marching out is not known, but when they were within a Half of Mile of their Camp they were fir'd upon by a great Number of Indians from behind Orchards, Fences & Entrenchments that they had poſted themſelves in for that Purpoſe, which put them a little in Confuſion at firſt, but they ſoon recover'd their Diſorder and forc'd the Enemy from their Lodgements. They then finding that their Scheme cou'd not be put in Execution, they thought of making the beſt retreat they cou'd, the Enemy being twice as numerous as they were, and knowing they cou'd not expect any more Succours from the Garriſon, for which purpoſe they took Poſt in ſeveral Houſes that was moſt advantagious for to prevent the Enemy as much as poſſible from getting between them and the Fort. Capt. Dalyel, who behav'd with all the Bravery in the World, was unluckily kill'd; after receiving the fire from the Enemy, tho' Capt. Grant beg'd of him either to puſh on immediately, make a retreat without loſs of Time, he remain'd almoſt in the ſame Place for at leaſt three Quarters of an Hour, ſoon after which he was kill'd, and Capt. Grant then with the Aſſiſtance of the two row Galleys made as good a retreat as was poſſible for any body to do, after ſending off all the Wounded & all the Dead except ſeven.

did not know when. Their Reaſon for thinking ſo was, becauſe we were mending ſome old Canoes, but we gave out we ſhould not want them in leſs than four or five Days, imagining that News would be carried to their Camp with everything elſe, as we never could do anything in the Fort without their knowing; for even if the Gates were ſhut and nobody permitted to go out, yet they knew everything we did, as one may ſee from the other Side of the River every movement made inſide of the Fort. The Detachment was three Quarters of an Hour from the Fort before we heard any firing, when it commenced and continued four to five Minutes very heavy, at which Time our People were approaching the Bridge on the Side of the River."

We

1763. July. We loſt in this Affair, Capt. Dalyel kill'd, Capt. Gray, Lieut. Luke & Lieut. Brown of the 35th wounded, one Serjeant & 13 Rank & File kill'd and one Drum^r and 25 wounded. 60 Reg^t one Private kill'd & ſeven wounded. 80 Reg^t two kill'd & three wounded. 2 R. A. Rangers 2 kill'd & one wounded, & a Traders Servant wounded. Total, Officers included, kill'd & wounded, 61. The Indians ſay they had five kill'd and eleven wounded.[55]

Auguſt 1 Laſt Night about ten o'Clock a Priſoner was brought in that was wounded at Mr. Cuylers Affair.

The Wind S. & S. weſterly all Day, and at Night chang'd all round the Compaſs.

This Day we were inform'd that Part of the Hurons were Encamp'd on the upper End of the Groſs Iſle,[56] where they had ſome Corn, that they had ſent their Chief who was wounded in yeſterday's Affair to the Grand River with a Belt to deſire the Puttawattamees to join them.

This Morning about two o'Clock Mr. Rutherford ariv'd at the Sloop, having made his Eſcape from the Indians about nine Mile from the Fort, ſeven of which he came by Land, when finding a Cannoe he embark'd in it & came to the Veſſel.

Young Mr. Campo brought in the Body of poor Capt. Dalyel about three o'Clock to day, which was

[55] Parents Creek, ever ſince this memorable Affair called *Bloody Run*, enters the Detroit River about a Mile and a Half above the Site of the Fort, and near its Mouth was croſſed by a narrow wooden Bridge. The Surface beyond was broken by Ridges parallel with the Stream, and Pontiac, forewarned by Canadians in his Intereſt, had ample Time to remove his Camp, and conceal his Warriors along every Hollow and behind every Building and Tree along the Route of the devoted Band.

[56] An Iſland about twelve Miles below Detroit and ſtill known by this Name. It is ſeven Miles long and about two wide at the wideſt Part.

mangled

mangled in ſuch a horrid Manner that it was ſhocking to human nature; the Indians wip'd his Heart about the Faces of our Priſoners. 1763. Auguſt.

Since the Detachment ariv'd the Garriſon has been leſs fatigued than before, as inſtead of every body lying [upon] the Works, a Capt. Picket of 80 Men & three Subalterns took their Place every Night.

The Wind wavering to day, but moſtly S. and ſouth-weſterly. 2

Since the laſt Sortie the People have brought in ſeveral Cattle for the King, & offer'd any thing they had, which we imagine was partly owing to ſome Diſorders that the Soldirs committed the 31ſt in the Morning by plundering ſeveral Houſes, and partly as they ſee we are ſo ſtrong that we can defend ourſelves both againſt the Indians & them, that is to ſay to maintain the Poſt without their Aſſiſtance.

The Commandant has not yet been able to get a Copy of the Letter that the Inhabitants wrote to the Illinois, nor a Copy of the Anſwer that Mr. Noiyon ſent back to them, by which it appears they had a great Share in the Affair, tho they try to hide it.

The [Wind] N. Eaſterly and pretty freſh. This Day we began to fit up another Batteau for a four Pownder. 3

Since the Sortie there has been every Night as we are inform'd at leaſt two hundred and fifty Indians diſperſ'd in Partys round the Fort to watch our Motions. About two o'Clock about fifteen were ſeen at a Houſe about a Quarter of a Mile from the Fort, upon which a Party was ſent out, but whether they were ſeen in going out or no we cant tell, but the Indians went off immediately. 4

This Morning at Half an Hour paſt three o'Clock, Capt. Grant with ſixty Men of the Picket was ſent out 5

1763. Auguſt. to take Poſt in ſome Houſes near the Fort that the Indians made a Practice of coming to in the Day time, where he reſted till one o'Clock, but none came near enough for him to hurt them.

The Wind S. Eaſterly & pretty freſh. At four this Afternoon the Scooner appear'd in Sight.

6 This Morning at 8 o'Clock the Scooner anchor'd before the Fort; ſhe brought but eighty Barrels of Proviſion, a good deal of Naval Stores, & ſome Merchandiſe.

At 3 in the Afternoon a Frenchman came in from Michilimackinac which he left 15 Days ago and informs us that Capt. Etherington & his Garriſon, with that of Fort Wm. Auguſtus[57] and all the Engliſh Merchants were gone down to Montreal guarded by the Ottawas, a Detachment of one Subaltern, four Serjeants, four Corporals, one Drummer & ..... as alſo Commodore Lorain with ſixteen Sailors.

This Day unloaded the Scooner & made the Sloop ready to ſail.

7 This Day the Commandant rec[d] a Letter from Capt. Etherington dated at Michilimackinac the 18 July, who with his Garriſon & that of Fort Wm. Auguſtus

[57] This Fort was near the Grand Portage on Lake Superior and ſubſequently became an important Station of the Northweſt Fur Company under the Name of Fort William. Another Fortreſs of this Name ſtood on an Iſland in the St. Lawrence, at the Foot of Sloop Navigation, three Miles below the preſent Village of Ogdenſburgh. This Iſland was named by the French Iſle Royal, and by the Indians Oraconenton. From the Ruins of its Barracks and other Buildings, it is now known as Chimney Iſland. This Iſland was fortified in 1759 under the Direction of Chevalier Levi, and from him was named Fort Levi.

In the Summer of 1760, while under the Command of M. Pouchot, it was attacked and reduced by Lord Amherſt and its Name changed to Fort William Auguſtus. This was the laſt Reſiſtance made by the French againſt the Engliſh in Canada.

was

was then going into the Boats to go to Montreal, as alſo all the Engliſh Merchants, for whome he had obtain'd Permiſſion of the Indians to carry all their Merchandize. 1763. Auguſt.

This Morning at two o'Clock Capt. Hopkins and two Subalterns with 60 Volunteers went down in Boats with an Intent to ſurprize an Indian Caban at the Puttawattamee Village. We went down undiſcover'd to the Place we intended to land, and in turning in the Boats to the Shore the Row Galley which was commanded by Lieut. Abbot being heavy did not follow ſo near as could be wiſh'd, by which Means, it being foggy & dark under the Land, ſhe loſt Sight of us and drop'd down with the Current ſo far that before Capt. Hopkins got her up again it was broad Day light & we was diſcover'd & oblig'd to return back without attempting any thing. The Fogg continued ſo thick that my Boat & the Row Galley was loſt again; the Row Galley at laſt threw out her Anchor and lay there till it began to get clear, but the other Boats cou'd neither do that nor go to the Shore, as the Enemy follow'd us on each Side of the River. 8

The Wind has been up the River ever ſince the Veſſel ariv'd that ſhe cou'd not go from this. 9

Both Veſſels were made ready to ſail to day, fifteen of the Wounded were put on board the Sloop to be ſent to Niagara as they cou'd be of no uſe here this Year, & it ſav'd Proviſion, as alſo fourteen or fifteen Merchants that had been Priſoners with the Indians. 10

The Wind ſtraight up the River alday. This Day we were inform'd that the Puttawattamees & Hurons were all coming back. 11

This Night one Jacob Taylor a Trader came in, having made his Eſcape from the Indians.

The Wind almoſt Weſt, the Veſſels cou'd not ſtir. 12

The

1763. Auguſt. 13 The Wind a little to North of W., the Veſſels weigh'd Anchor at 10 o'Clock & in two Trips got below the Huron Point, from where they had a large Wind to Sanduſky.[58] The Indians did not fire one Gun at them.

14 This Morning the Wind W. and freſh.

15 The Wind Weſt and freſh all Day with a good deal

[58] The Arrival of theſe Veſſels was announced to Sir William Johnſon in the following Letter:

"Niagara, 24th Auguſt, 1763.

Sir: Being allways glad to ſelebrat all oppertunityes of giving you the earlyeſt Inteligence of any thing perticular intreduces me to trouble you with this.

The Commodore arrived here on the 22d Inſt. and allſo the Schooner and the Sloop from Detroit. By them we have the following Account of the grate Luck and ſafe Arrival of Capt. Duel [Dalyell] and his Armiment at Detroit being ſomewhat remarkable, as the Indians was lying in Ambuſh for him which he knew of, but the Night and Morning that he arived being fogee Weather he got in to the Garriſon without the Knowledge of the Indians, who were ſoon made acquainted with it, not only his Arrival but his Intentions, which was the next Morning he march'd about two Miles Diſtance from the Garriſon being informed of ſome Intrenchments they had there, where he was fired on very warmly by a Party of Indians, as he was croſſing a wooden Bridge which was behind ſome Pickquets, notwithſtanding which the brave and undaunted Capt. Duel [Dalyell] march'd the Men on to the Breſt work or Trench which the Engliſh ſoon got Poſſeſſion of, and the Indians retreated to another Trench they had ſome Diſtance in the Rear of the Intrenchment where Capt. Duel behaved with the greateſt Courage and Reſolution imaginable, but ſoon told Capt. Grant he was wounded, notwithſtanding which his Bravery in the Command was the ſame as before, but ſome Time after Lieut. McDougle informed Capt. Gray, belonging 55th [35th], that Capt. Duel [Dalyell] was wounded again and dead. Then Capt. Gray took the Command and being informed that the Indians were ſurrounding them faſt by the Directions of their Sachem Pondeack and takeing Poſſeſſion of the French Houſes. Upon this News the Engliſh thought proper to Retreat. Some Partys were detached to drive them out and take Poſſeſſion from the Indians, which they ſoon did, at which Time Capt. Gray was wounded taking Poſſeſſion of a Mill, but hope he will recover. Alſo Lieut. Brown of the 55th was wounded at the ſame Time. Then Capt. Grant had the Command, who marched the Men very regular on the Retrait into the Fort. About fifteen Men with Major Rogers got in a Houſe who was to bring up

of

of Rain. This Day threw a Coehorn Shell to the other Side of the River. 1763. Auguſt. 16

The Wind weſterly all Day with Rain. This Day we were inform'd that Pondiac had given out that the Commandant only ſent the Veſſels out into the Lake to make the Indians believe that they went to Niagara, but he knew better for they neither brought Proviſions nor Men. That when they ariv'd oppoſite the Fort we always ſent two or three Batteaux along ſide of them full of Men who were all hid except thoſe that row'd, and as ſoon as they got on board huzza'd, by which Means we made them believe that we receiv'd Succours.

The Wind ſtill weſterly and N. W. with Rain. Laſt Night there was 150 of the Enemy within about three Quarters of a Mile of the Fort, 50 of whome were conſtantly Centry; the Night was extremely bad. They themſelves ſay that two or three of them ſwimed down cloſe to the Fort, but obſerving ſome Soldiers that was in a Batteaux anchor'd above the Fort with a Patteraroe[59] in it, to put up their Heads, they went back as faſt as they cou'd. 17

the Reare and Cover the Retrate, which was ſoon ſurrounded by the Indians and had no other way to get clear of them but by ſhowing them a clean pair of Heels, which he did, and a Corporal of the 55th had a fair Tryal for, and got ſafe in the Fort.

There is killed and wounded in this Engagement about thirty Engliſh, the Number of Indians is not known.

The have murdered Capt. Duel [Dalyell] in a barbarous Manner by Schelping him, cutting of one of his Arms and one Leg and takeing out his Bowels, his Body was brought in and buried in the Fort. Laſt Night arrived here ſeventy of the 46th Regt.

I am Sir

Your moſt Humble Serv't.

T. De Couagne.

P. S. By the Priſoners we have Account of the Seneckees, it is ſuſpected that they have joyned the Dellawares.

[59] Paterero, or Pederero, a ſmall Cannon mounted as a Swivel.

The

1763. August. 18 The Wind N. W. Laſt Night & this Morning before Day the Ottawas chang'd their Camp from behind the Grand Marais to the River Rouge,[60] where they will be very convenient to harraſs any Party that may be coming up; or the Veſſels, as they will have early Intelligence of it, and Time to poſt themſelves in the moſt convenient Places for that Purpoſe.

Laſt Night Mr. Watkins with about eighteen Volunteers lay in Mr. Babi's Houſe as the Indians had paſt it two Nights before in order to try how near they cou'd come to the Fort. But he did not get an Oppertunity of firing upon any of them as there was Cry given as ſoon as he got there, which we imagine to have been one of their Centrys.

This Evening the Commandant rec[d] a Letter from one Waſſong, the Chief of the Chippawas, to this Effect: That if he had a Mind to leave the Fort he might do it peacibly at preſent, but if not that the River would ſoon be ſtop'd up. That he had never yet fought againſt him, for that if he had the Fort wou'd have been burn'd long ago, with a great many threats & very inſolent Expreſſions. The Commandant ſent Word to the Indians that if they had any thing to ſay to come to the Fort; that he knew they cou'd not write & therefore might be impoſ'd on by thoſe that wrote for them, & deſir'd the Meſſenger to tell the French that the firſt that wrote another Letter of that Kind might expect to be hang'd; which we ſuppoſe was in conſequence of ſome Batteaux that were ſent up the River in the Morning to ſee what the Enemy were doing, as it was reported they were making a large Raft.

19 The Wind eaſterly, but not much of it. This Day finiſh'd another Batteau for a four pownder.

[60] The River Rouge empties into the Detroit River from the Weſt, four Miles below the Site of the Fort.

The

The Wind N. eaſterly in the Morning & weſterly in the Afternoon, but not much of it. 1763. Auguſt.

This Morning at Half an Hour paſt three Capt. Hopkins, Enſign Perry & Enſign Kiggel and forty Men of the Piket, with Capt. Roger & four or five of his Men, & Mr. Watkins & Mr. Cornwell and ſome other Volunteers went to waylay the Road that the Indians generally take to paſs from the Puttawattimy Village to the Camp up the River, to favour which the Commandant ſent up four Batteaux, two with a four Pownder in each, and two with Patteraroes, they went as far as the upper End of the Iſle au Cochon,[61] and drew a good many of the Indians that way, but Capt. Hopkins being diſcover'd return'd without being able to do any thing. 20

The Wind S. & S. eaſterly, but very little of it. This Day part of the Picket was out about four hundred Yards from the Fort lodg'd in Houſes to try to catch or kill ſome Indians that daily came near the Fort, but their Intelligence was ſo good that they always knew of it and never came near enough. A Woman was wounded through the Arm by Accident at the Door of a Houſe behind which were two Indians. 21

The Wind ſoutherly in the Morning, from 12 till Night S. E. pretty freſh, then more ſoutherly. This Day part of the Picket was out as yeſterday and fir d a great many Shot at the Enemy, but was ſo far off that they cou'd not do any Execution. On their going out they ſaw two Indians whom they follow'd in purſuit of whom we had one Man ſhot through the thigh, for the Indians ran away (as is their Cuſtom) as ſoon as they ſaw our Men, and when they return'd the Indians return'd alſo and generally got a Shot at our Men without expoſing themſelves, however we heard 22

[61] Nearly five Miles from the Fort.

that

1763. Auguſt. that one of the two that ran away this Morning was ſhot through the Body.

At Half paſt nine this Evening a Negro made his Eſcape from one Marſacks who had bought him from the Indians.

23 The Wind S. & S. weſterly all Day. This Morning we were inform'd that one of the Indians died laſt Night that was wounded yeſterday & that two others are wounded.

This Day the Picket was at Mr. Barrois & a little beyond it ſkirmiſhing with the Indians the moſt Part of the Day, we fir'd a good many Shells in the Garden where ſome of them was & fir'd ſeveral Shot through the Houſes they were in, ſo that we imagine they receiv'd a good deal of Damage. About Half an Hour before Sunſet the Party was order'd in, and as ſoon as the Rear of the Party was well in the Fort they were impudent enough to come to Mr. St. Martins Houſe and fir'd ſeveral Shot in at the Gate & ſet Fire to two or three little out Houſes that we had Poſſeſſion of all Day, which the Commandant thought ſo inſolent that he ſent out Major Rogers with the Picket to take Poſſeſſion again, and upon his appearing the Indians run away & he remain'd there all Night. We had three Men wounded to day.

24 The [Wind] S. & S. weſterly but not much of it; in the Afternoon Rain, the Wind changing all round the Compaſs.

This Night the Commandant ſent out an Officer & thirty Men of the Picket to keep Poſſeſſion of Mr. Brarrois's Houſe & Barn to protect it & Mr. St. Martins, which the Indians ſaid they wou'd burn, which he intended to do till they had thraſh'd their Corn, &c. This Day we had two Men wounded, but one of them very ſlightly.

This

This Day a Bènnickee[62] Indian came into the Fort for a Paſs to go to Montreal, being the third time within this five Days; he ſaid he had been at War againſt the Cherokees, & that his Brother who came with him laſt Winter with Mr. Ferguſon went a hunting when he went away and he had not heard of him ſince. But one —— an Albany Trader who was taken with one Meldrum between Miamee & Ouiattanon, came in this Evening and inform'd us that he had been four Days in the Woods without any thing to eat, having made his Eſcape from one of the Puttawattamee Villages about forty Miles off, where he heard the Indians ſay that in Capt. Dalyels Affair there was ſix Ottawas, two Chippewas and one Bennickee Indian kill'd, which Bennickee we ſuppoſe to be the Brother of this one that is in the Fort. 1763. Auguſt.

At ten this Night the Indians ſet Fire to a ſmall Houſe that we had Poſſeſſion of all Day from which we gall'd them. It was too far from the other Houſes that we had Poſſeſſion of to keep Men in, as they were always liable to be cut off.

This Day in the Afternoon the Indians came to their Poſt & fir'd a good deal at our Men that keep'd Poſſeſſion of Mr. Barrois Houſe &c., but without doing any Harm. 25

This Morning Mr. Cecote & Mr. Forville came to the commanding Officer in the Name of four of the moſt principal Chiefs of the Ottawas to aſk Mr. Labute to come to ſpeak to them, but Mr. Labute did not chooſe to go, & the Commandant wou'd not order him. In the Afternoon they fir'd a great deal & expoſ'd themſelves more than uſual. At four o'Clock they ſet Fire to Mr. Babi's Houſe which burn'd to the Ground in 26

[62] Abenaque.

1763. Auguſt. a few Minutes. This Day we had one Man wounded. The Wind S. & S. weſterly.

27 The Wind S. This Morning we were inform'd that there was one Indian kill'd yeſterday & three wounded. This Day did not fire ſo much as yeſterday, wounded one Indian.

28 The [Wind] S. W. Very little firing to day at the advanc'd Poſt.

29 The Wind weavering from S. S. E. to W. N. W. This Day by Accident found two Keys that had been lately made, one of which open'd one of our ſmall Gates & the other a large one. Yeſterday about fifty Indians ariv'd here, 30 of whom had been oppoſite to the landing Place 9 Mile up the River, & ſay they ſaw a great many Engliſh carry'g Proviſion on their Backs and otherwiſe, are likewiſe inform'd that the Indians that [went] to Montreal with Mr. Lerond by Pondiacs leave are come back, who met Cap. Etherington & Garriſon about 25 Leagues from thence.

30 The Wind chang'd all Day from S. E. to S. & S. S. W. This Evening we were inform'd that four Hurons ariv'd from Sanduſky to inform the Indians here that there was an Army of two thouſand Men between that & Fort Pitt on their way hither, that the Indians had been neer enough to fire upon them, & the Engliſh returning the fire kill'd ſeven of the Miamee Nation.

The Indians fir'd a good deal from their Breaſtwork at the outlying Picket to day.

31 The Wind chang'd all round the Compaſs. This Morning we were inform'd that a Chief of the Miſſeſagys was badly wounded yeſterday.

Sept. 1 The Wind almoſt due Eaſt all Day. This Day we were inform'd that the Chief of Miſſeſagys who was wounded the 30 Auguſt died yeſterday. This Day the Nephew of a great Chief of the Ottawas was kill'd at

at their Retrench[t] that they were trying to open again, as Mr. Brehm deſtroy'd it yeſterday Morning. 1763. Sept. 2

The Wind Eaſt & a little to the ſouthward of Eaſt all Day. The Indians fir'd a good deal to day at the advanc'd Picket.

The Wind a little to the ſouthward of Eaſt. This Morning we were inform'd that the Scooner was in the River near the lowermoſt inhabitants & that there was ſome Mohawks in her, as four of them had landed and ſent for Babi[63] & Theata of the Hurons to come & ſpeake with them & then went on board again. 3

At one o'Clock the Indians came and ſet Fire to a Windmill about three hundred Yards from the Fort. At Half an Hour apaſt 2 one Mr. Petet & another Frenchman ariv'd from the Illinois by way of Fort St. Joſeph, who inform'd us that 28 Days ago Mr. Neyon the Commandant there had not rec[d] the acc[t] of the Peace from Authority but expected it every Day. He had heard it from New Orleans by an Engliſh Merchant that was ariv'd there from Martinico.

That the Oueattanon Indians had been with Mr. Neyon for Ammunition and he had given them about three Barrels of Powder & Lead in Proportion, enough to keep them from ſtarving a little while.

The Wind Eaſt the moſt of the Day. Laſt Night at about 9 o'Clock 340 Indians embark'd in Cannoes and went to board the Scooner. The Merchants were on Shore. The Channel where the Veſſel lay not being very wide and Ruſhes growing on each Side of it, they came within a little more than a hundred Yards of her before they were diſcover'd & then ruſh'd in at once upon her ſurrounding her with Cannoes & Bat- 4

[63] Babie, the Huron Chief, ſigned the Treaty at Fort Niagara, July 18, 1764. His Indian Name was Odinghquanooron, and he appears to have poſſeſſed conſiderable Influence among his Tribe.

teaux

1763. Sept. teaux and under a very briſk fire attempted to cut holes in her Stern & the Cable. The Cable they cut, but notwithſtanding there was but twelve on board, two of whome Mr. Horſey and another was kill'd & four wounded at the beginning, they never was able to board her, but oblig'd to fly with the loſs (as the French tell us) of eight kill'd & twenty wounded. When the Commanding Officer was inform'd that there was Indians on board and but twelve Men, he ſent off an Expreſs with a Letter to Mr. Horſey, but they did not get down till the Attack began, and conſequently cou'd not get on board, and this Morning, the fifth, when we were inform'd that ſhe had been attack'd, the Commandant ſent down four Row Galleys.

5 The Wind S. E. At 9 o'Clock the Row Galleys return'd, Capt. Hopkins & about twenty Men including ſome Volunteers remain'd on board.

At 11 the Wind ſpring up a little & the Schooner came in Sight and at Half apaſt three caſt Anchor oppoſite the Fort. She brought 47 Barrals of Flour & 160 of Pork.

6 The Wind S. W. This Day we heard that the Indians were watching near the Mouth of the River to pick up thoſe that were kill'd. The Mohawks ſay that the Hurons kept them Priſoners after they went on Shore, but from all Appearance they are great Raſcals & came with an Intent to betray the People in the Veſſels.

7 The Wind S. W. This Day we were inform'd that ſeven Indians died of their Wounds. The Commandant being inform'd by the People in the Schooner that there was two more Indians coming in the Sloop, who with thoſe that came in the Schooner might have laid a Scheme to come on board with other Indians as Friends and endeavour to take her by Treachery, thought

thought proper to ſend a Man with a Letter to the River Cannard (as if he was going a hunting) with Orders to remain there till the Sloop came into the River, and then to go on board of her and give the Letter to the Commander, to whom he gave Orders for preventing any Treachery that they might think to practice againſt him. 1763. Sept.

This Morning the Commandant was inform'd that it was realy the Intention of the Mohawks to betray the Sloop if they cou'd & for that Purpoſe they were gone to the Mouth of the River, upon which the Wind coming about he order'd the Schooner to make ready to ſail, and wrote a ſhort Letter to the General telling him the Reaſon of his being oblig'd to ſend her away before he had Time to write all that he intended, and wrote a Letter to the Commander of the Sloop with Orders & Directions how to behave in coming up the River. The Wind N. W. when the Schooner ſail'd at Half paſt one and continued ſo till about Half after four, when it came about to Eaſt and continued all Night. 8

The Wind E. Laſt Night at about 11 o'Clock the Indians burn'd the Barn of Mr. Reaume[64] on the other Side of the River with about 1000 Buſhels of Wheat in it, ſome Peas & ſome Hay. 9

This Morning we were inform'd that ſeventy Puttawattamys ariv'd from St. Joſephs.

The Wind S. W. Nothing Extraordinary to day. 10

The Wind weſterly all Day, & at Night blew pretty freſh. 11

The Wind weſterly. 12

[64] In 1777, one Pierre Reaume was a prominent Settler at Detroit, and the next Year Charles Reaume was a Captain in the Britiſh Indian Department at that Place. The latter ſettled at Green Bay in 1790, and after holding a civil Office many Years died between 1818 and 1824. —*Firſt An. Rep. State Hiſt. Soc. Wiſconſin*, 61.

The

1763. Sept. 13 The Wind S. & S. Weſt. This Day we were inform'd that there was a Veſſel ſeen at the Mouth of the River yeſterday Morning.

One of the Sailors that was wounded in the Scooner told us yeſterday that the Sloop was going to land 200 Men and Proviſion at Preſque Iſle & was then to return to Niagara for Proviſion for this Place, which if true is very ſurprizing, as they knew we had but ſix Weeks Proviſion in Store when ſhe went away, and the Scooner was ſent loaded with Pork, all to about forty Barrels of Flour.

14 The Wind S. W. This Day we were inform'd that forty Puttawattmys were gone to their Village at St. Joſephs.

15 The Wind W. & S. W. For two or three Days paſt we have had Acct^{s} of the Veſſels being at the Mouth of the River & of Boats being at Sanduſky.

16 The Wind weſterly. To day we heard that the Indians were making ready their Cannoes to go off.

17 The Wind S. & S. W. Laſt Night a Soldier that was taken the 29th May coming from Michilimackinac & a Merchant made their Eſcape & came into the Fort. The Soldier ſays that he was told by a Frenchman that the Reaſon that the People aſk Billets or Certificates from Pondiac for their Cattle was because the People in Canada were to pay Half their Loſſes. That he ſpoke with Aaron the Mohawk, who told him he was ſent here by Sir William Johnſton to find who were the Cauſe of the War.

18 The Wind S. & S. W. This Day we were inform'd that the Ottawas, Puttawattamys & Wiandots were to go off to morrow. That a Cannoe with ſome Hurons was ariv'd from the Eaſt End of Lake Erie who ſaid that they ſaw a Number of Troops embark'd on board the Sloop and a great Number of Batteaux on their way hither.

The

The Wind W. & N. W. Very freſh all Day & laſt Night from 8 o'Clock it blew very hard Squawls from the ſame Quarter with a great deal of Rain. 1763. Sept. 19

This Day we were inform'd that the Puttawattamys were all gone, & that the Ottawas were angry at Pondiac for propoſing to go, & they choſe one Manitoo for their Chief in his Place.

The Wind W. & N. W., very freſh all Day and very cold for the Seaſon. Laſt Night twelve Frenchmen got a Paſs for Montreal & took ſome Letters with them. 20

The Wind W & N. W. and very Cold. We were inform'd a few Days ago by Monſ^{r} Fortville that Baptiſte Deriverre with his Party who came from the Illinois with Monſ^{r} Sabole fought in Conjunction with the Indians againſt the Veſſel when Mr. Horſey was kill'd. 21

The Wind Weſt till 12 o'Clock when it changed to the Eaſtward of South, and continued all Day a light Breeze, the Air not being ſo cold as it had been for two or three Days before. Yeſterday the Indians ſent word to all the Inhabitants not to offer to go into the Fort for three Days, and if any came out of the Fort they were to tell them to go back & inform thoſe within not come out during that Time, under Pain of having their Houſes & Barns burnt. 22

The Wind S. & a little to the Eaſtward of S. 23

The Wind S. E. and E. S. E. all Day. Laſt Night at about a Quarter after eight o'Clock Serjeant Fisher in paſſing from the Fort to Mr. St. Martins Houſe was fir'd upon by two Indians as we ſuppoſe & was kill'd, which gave Reaſon for us to think that it was ſcheme laid by the French & Indians to get an Officer Priſoner, as they knew the Commandant and many of the Officers walk'd there (ſince we took Poſt at Mr. Barrois's 24

1763. July. Barrois's) after Night, and for that Reaſon the French was neither to come in nor go out of the Fort; as otherwiſe they might fire upon ſome of them inſtead of us.

This Day at about one o'Clock Baby the Huron came into the Fort but brought nothing extraordinary. He ſaid that the moſt of his Errant was to ſee the Major & pay him his Reſpects, it being the firſt Oppertunity he had ſince he was in before, as the Ottawas & Puttawattamys were always being along the Road to watch our Motions.

25 The Wind S. & S. E. till twelve of Clock then chang'd to the Weſt with Rain.

This Evening we were inform'd that the Enemy intended to attempt to ſurpriſe the advanc'd Poſt. The Night was very bad, it raining very hard & the Wind ſhifting with hard Squawls from South to Weſt.

26 The Wind pretty freſh from the Weſt with Rain. This Day we were inform'd that ſome Indians came in laſt Night that had been to ſee whether there was an Army on the Lake or no, who reported that there was a vaſt Number of Boats between this & Sanduſky which they imagin'd wou'd be here this Night or to morrow.

27 The Wind weſterly all Day with Rain. This Day Aron the Mohawk ſent word to the Commandant that he would come into the Fort to night or to morrow night.

28 The Wind N. W. & N. all Day.

29 The Wind W. all Day, hazy weather. Laſt Night at ſeven o'Clock Aron the Huron [Mohawk] came into the Fort with his Paſs from Sir William [Johnſon] & five other Mohawks who were to join Capt. Dalyell, who ſaid that he was ſent to find out the Reaſon of the War, and that he was convinc'd the French were great Raſcals,

Raſcals, yet the firſt Belts came from the Five Nations, and that the Mr. Horſey ſent him aſhore before the Schooner was attack'd, Contrary to his own Judgment, to buy Vegetables; that the Veſſel was attack'd in Conſequence of the Intelligence that was given the Indians by the two Frenchmen that went on board of her, & not from any that he or his People gave, and that the People on that Side of the River furniſh'd them with Cannoes & every thing they wanted. That many of the Inhabitants were going off to the Miſſiſippi with Quantitys of Merchandize that they had bought of the Indians, that they had taken from our Merch^ts. He promiſ'd to return in three or four Days. 1763. Sept.

The Wind S. to N. E. 30

The Wind N. & N. E. & ſome Part of the Day N. W. Oct. 1

This Morning a Frenchman croſſ'd the River a little above the Fort with his Goods on his way to a Houſe down the River that he had hir'd, but being call'd to, to come in Shore, and not obeying was fir'd upon, which he did not mind but went on. The Commandant then ordered a Boat to bring them back, which they ſeeing coming after them oblig'd them to put in Shore oppoſite the Fort. But as no Enemy was to be ſeen, the Boat went in under the Bank to bring her off, but before they got thirty Yards from the Shore two Indians came running down and fir'd upon them & kill'd one Man.

The Wind N. E. This Morning, at 100'Clock, Lieut. Brehm, Lieut. Abbot, Enſ^n Riggell & myſelf were ſent up the River with four arm'd Batteaux to Reconnoitre an Iſland in the Mouth of Lake St. Clair to ſee if it was poſſible to bring Wood from it for the Garriſon & to try to bring off a Ships Boat that the Indians took from Capt. Robinſon, when we were about four 2

1763. Oct. Miles from the Fort the Indians began to fire upon us from Holes they had made on the Side of the River, and two or three Times attempted to put off in a Batteaux & two or three Cannoes as we imagined to croſs the River to fire upon us from each Shore, but we drove them aſhore as ſoon as they were well on board, but at laſt ſeeing we only loſt Time with them, puſh'd on to perform what we were ſent about, when we had gain'd the upper End of the Hogg Iſland we ſaw them puſh off with nineteen Cannoes & Batteaux & ſeem'd to follow us, & when we were in the narrow Part of the River ſurrounded us under a briſk Fire from each Shore; upon which we turn'd to attack them, they ſtill puſhing on with great Bravery all open to our Fire, making a great Hallowing; at length Lieut. Brehm got a good Shot at ſome of them with a four Pownder charg'd with Grape at about forty or fifty Yards Diſtance, which he ſo diſabled that out of about 15 or 16 that were in it we cou'd not ſee but two that paddled. They then put on Shore ſome on one Side of the River and ſome on the other, & cry'd two death Hollows; we then rowed up and down in the ſame Part of the River & call'd to them to put off again, that we were waiting for them. But they were then very quiet & did not Hollow as in the Beginning, & choſe rather to fire few ſtraggling Shot from Shore than attempt coming off again. Then finding it too late to proceed we return'd to the Fort. We had one Man kill'd & three wounded, two of which were very ſlight. We have not yet heard what Number of them were kill'd or wounded. Upon our Return we were inform'd that one of the Veſſels were in the Mouth of the River.

3 At 12 o'Clock, the Wind being almoſt South, heard firing of Cannon & ſmall Arms down the River, & at one or Half paſt, the Schooner came in Sight; about Half

Half paſt three ſhe arriv'd at the Fort, in which came Capt. Montreſor, who inform'd us that the Sloop was loſt the 28th of Auguſt between Preſque Iſle & Niagara,[65] the Proviſion and Guns were all loſt except 185 Barrells, which they brought in the Schooner; the Rigging was all carried to Niagara. 1763. Oct.

The Wind S. W., pretty freſh with Showers of Rain. Laſt Night the Enemy ſet Fire to a Barn about ſixty Yards from the Poſt occupied by our outlying Picket, and crawl'd about the whole Night to try to get a Priſoner & kill a Centry, but they did not ſucceed if that was their Deſign, but on the Contrary had one Man kill'd as our People fir'd at every thing they ſaw move. Another had a ſpeer run through his Body by one of their own People, and we hear is like to die. 4

The Wind Weſt & very freſh. This Day the 5

[65] Letters to Sir William Johnſon:

NIAGARA, 8th Sep^r, 1763.

S^r: In my laſt I wrote you that y^e Sloop was loſt upon Lake Erie, ſince y^e have been on Shore they have been attacked by a few ſtragling Indians, we have loſt three Men in y^e Breaſtwork and one out that was ſcalped. Dan^l & y^e Reſt of the Indians behaved very well.

DE COUAGNE.

CAT FISH CREEK, 9th Sept^m 1763.

14 Mills on Lak Eria.

Dr: According to Daniel Oughnour's Deſire I now take the Freedom to write to you. The 8th ult^m we have been caſt away at this Place which detained him from Proſeiding to Detroit, but he ſays he'll go forward and deliver your Belts and bring you an Anſwer from the different Nations according to your Directions. The 3d Inſt we had 3 Men kill by a ſmall Partey of Indians. Daniel ſpoke to them at little Diſtance from the Breaſtwork but they would not tell what Nation they were, he ſays he believes they are Cinices [Senecas]. We expect the Scooner from Detroit dayly. Aaron & 5 Indians went in her to Detroit. Daniel gives his Comp^s to you & Familey and deſire the Favour of you in caſe you ſee his Wife to tell her that he is well. Sir excuſe my Freedom in writing in ſuch a maner for I have had the Fever & Eague thoſe ſeveral Days.

I am Sir your moſt
ob^t Humb^l Servant,
COLLIN ANDREWS.

P. S Capt. Coghran gives his Complements to you, he has uſed Daniel extremely well.—*MSS. of Sir William Johnſon*, vol. vii.

This

1763. Oct. Schooner was made ready to ſail. This Day we were inform'd that there was two hundred Indians & twenty five Cannoes when they attack'd the Boats.

6 The Wind Weſt. Aron the Mohawk came in to day to ſee his Comrades that came in the Schooner, who told us that there was three Chippewas kill'd & ſeven wounded the ſecond Inſtant. That the Hurons were ſickly with a bad Feever. That ſeven or eight had died within five or ſix Days paſt.

7 The Wind E. & N. E. The Schooner ſail'd at twelve o'Clock, in which went Capt. Grey, Lieut. Brown & Lieut. McDonald.

This Day Mr. Campo came to the Commandant in the Name of Wabicommigot a Toronto Chief to know his Sentiments about a Peace, to which the Major gave no direct Anſwer, but told Mr. Campo that he might bring him to the Fort & he wou'd ſpeake to him. He ariv'd here laſt Sunday with twenty four Men as he ſays not to make War, but to try to accommodate Affairs.

8 The Wind E. & N. Eaſt. This Day 60 Miamees ariv'd; we hear that the Chippewas are preparing all the Boats & Cannoes they can to attack the arm'd Boats when they go up the River again.

9 The Wind Weſt & N. W. Laſt Night a Soldier, a Trader and a Cherokee that was Priſoner with the Indians made their Eſcape & came into the Fort.

This Day we were inform'd that the Indians had taken all the Cannoes they cou'd get from the Inhabitants but know not for what End.

10 The Wind E. to N. E. in the Morning, in the Afternoon weſterly.

12 The Wind weſterly. Yeſterday was held a Council with the Miſſiſagues, and this Day another with the ſame.

The

1763.

The Wind from W. to N. W., pretty freſh all Day.

Oct. 13. The Wind Weſt & a little to the North of Weſt all Day & pretty freſh.

14 The Wind W. & N. W. with Snow in the Morning.

15

16 The Wind chang'd from one Point to another all Day with now & then Snow.

17 The Wind S. & S. E.

18 The Wind Eaſterly.

19 The Wind Eaſterly. The Councils that has been held theſe few Days paſt has been attended with this good Effect, that we have been able to get in ſome Wheat & ſome little Flower, without which we ſhou'd not have an Ounce of Flower in the Garriſon ten Days paſt, as the Men for upwards of ſeven Weeks paſt have had only five Pounds of Flower p^r^ Week, & for the other two Pounds Half a Gallon of Wheat each.

25 This Day a Soldier ſav'd himſelf by running off from a Chibbawa who brought him to Cueſieres to ſell.

29 This Morning Capt. Grant with a Party of 150 Men was ſent to the Iſle au Couchon to cut Wood for the Garriſon, the Commandant not chooſing to let more Time paſs in waiting for the Troops that he expected ſome Time ago.

30 Laſt Night Mons. Dequendſe a Cadette ariv'd from the Illinois and was in Council with Pondiac and the Chiefs of all the Nations here, and this Morning brought a Letter to the Commandant from Mon^r^ Daneyon Commandant of the Illinois Country, with a Speech which he ſent addreſſ'd to all Indians with three Belts of Wampum & four Pipes of Peace, which he diſtributed to the Nations as he came along. In the Speech he let them know that Peace was made between England & France & exhorted them to live in Peace

1763. Oct. Peace with us, telling them that fighting againſt us at *Preſent* was fighting againſt them, and deſiring them to eſteem their Brothers the French that remain'd amongſt us, as they wou'd never be abandoned by them. That they chang'd their Situation as the King order'd, & that they had given up thoſe Parts of the Country that belong'd to the King & not theirs, and deſir'd an Anſwer to his Speech telling them they ſhou'd allways receive Succours from them at ſuch & ſuch Places. That their Villages would be full of Amunition & Merchandize. Upon which Pondiac ſent in Word to the Commandant that their Hatchet was buried & deſir'd to have his Anſwer in writing. To which the Commandant anſwer'd that if he had begun the War it wou'd be in his Power to end it; but as it was him, he muſt wait the Pleaſure of the General, to whome he wou'd write & inform him of his pacific Inclination in caſe he committed no more Hoſtilities. Pondiac then ſaid he wou'd not commit any more & wou'd come when he was ſent for.

The News of the diffinitive Treaty ariv'd at the Illinois the 27 of September. In another Letter to the Inhabitants of the Peace being concluded, he mark'd five Places on the South Side of the Miſſipi that any of the Inhabitants might retire to that had an Inclination where they wou'd receive all the Succour that was in his Power to give them. From which one may imagine that if one word cou'd prevent all the Nations from committing further Hoſtilities it was in their Power with a very few to do all they have done & that they will always remain in their Intereſt as long as they have any Footing on the Continent from whence they can ſuccour them.

31 [66] This Day Mr. Jadeau was in the Fort & in talk-

[66] The following Extract from a Letter of Wm. Edgar at Detroit,

ing

ing with Major Gladwin about Proviſion, he told him that ever ſince the Beginning of this Affair, the Inhabitants in his Diſtrict had receiv'd Orders to give Pondiac a Buſhel of Peas or Wheat pr. Family, under Pain of diſobey'ng the greateſt of Orders, & that when the Indians were aſk'd who gave them the Orders they ſaid ſometimes Mons. Cecotte & ſometimes Baptiſt Campo. Once in particular one of the Inhabitants upon being told that it was Cecotte that gave the Order tore it & told him he did not mind the Order nor Cecotte and then went away. The next Day the Indians came & it was much as all the reſt of the Inhabitants cou'd do to prevent them from taking every thing he had in the World & pulling down his Houſe. 1763. Oct.

The following Names are thoſe People who went from the Settlement & from his Diſtrict within theſe three Weeks without Leave:

Grenon, an Inhabitant.
Millehomme Do.
Briſar & his Family.
De Roen.
Jean Faies.
Des Cheine, Labourer, & one Lizott Do.

Three Days ago Aron went from the River Huron on his way to Fort Pitt with Letters. Nov. 10

dated Nov^{r} 1st, 1763, ſtates the Progreſs of pacific Overtures as then underſtood:

"I have lately rec^{d} a Letter from Hornlach, which came by an Officer from Illinois, who brought a Belt & Letter to the Savages, with the Account of the Peace between England & France which neither the Savages nor the French, *here* believed till now. In Conſequence of which, our moſt implacable Enemies, the Ottawas who were the only Nation here diſpoſed for continuing the War (all the reſt having begged Forgiveneſs for what they have done of our worthy Commandant) are now with the others, ſuing for Peace, in the moſt abject Manner.

Mr. Prentice is very well at Sanduſky, as is Mr. Winſton at St. Joſeph's, and from the preſent Diſpoſition of the Savages I apprehend they will ſoon bring them *in*."

This

1763. Nov. This Day by the Returns from the Commiſſary it appear'd that we had upwards of 9000 weight of Flour & Wheat equal to about 23000 more, which would have been enough for to keep 250 Men here all the Winter, as the Commandant had given over any thoughts of Boats coming & imagin'd the Veſſel was loſt, as ſhe had been gone from this upwards of thirty Days.

This Evening Mr. Jadeau came in with a Letter from the Schooner dated at Iſle au Boiſblond, informing us that the Troops had left Niagara the 20th October.

Mr. Jadeau in Converſation happen'd to tell before Mr. Duquindſe that Pondiac had ſaid he was going with 9 of his Men to the Illinois with him, & that he, Pondiac, had been inform'd that Mr. Dequindſe was to take a good many French with him, which a little ſhock'd Mr. Duquindſe as he had given out that he was to paſs by St. Joſephs.

11 At three o'Clock the Schooner ariv'd, in which came Mr. Wille^ro of the 80th, who brought us the diſagreeable Acc't of a Party of about 70 Men being cut off at the Carrying Place at Niagara by a large Body of Indians, as alſo the loſs of moſt of the Carriages & Bullocks, which undoubtedly prevented the Army from coming ſo ſoon as they otherwiſe wou'd have done.[67]

[67] The Affair here alluded to, is the Surpriſe and Maſſacre at the Devil's Hole, three Miles below Niagara Falls and on the Road then recently conſtructed from Fort Niagara to Fort Schloſſer.

In September, twenty-five Wagons loaded with Proviſions and Supplies for Detroit, and eſcorted by fifty Soldiers and their Officers, were ambuſcaded at this Point by Seneca Indians, and with two exceptions the whole were killed, or driven off a frightful Precipice of a hundred and eighty feet. The Wagons and their Contents, with the ox Teams attached, were alſo hurled down the Chaſm. William Stedman, the Contractor, narrowly eſcaped on horſeback, and a drummer Boy, named Matthews, was caught by his Belt in the Limbs of a Tree, which broke the Force of his Fall, and he fell in the River

This

This Morning two Indians ariv'd from Point au Pain, with a Letter one Half wrote in Erſe & the other in Engliſh, from Major Montcrife, giving an Account of the Batteau being caſt away the ſeventh Inſtant at the Highlands beyond the ſaid Point, where they loſt 20 Boats & 50 Barrels of Proviſions, with two Officers and a Surgeon drown'd, as alſo 70 Men, 1763. Nov. 18

near the Shore. He lived many Years afterwards near Queenſton.

The following Letters, addreſſed to Sir William Johnſon, relate to theſe Events on the Niagara Frontier:

NIAGARA, October 17th, 1763.

Sir: I have aequainted you of the ſad Uſage of the Savages to the Detachment of our Forees that turned out at lower Landing ſometime paſt, where the Officers and Men were almoſt totally deſtroyed by them together with the King's working Cattle. Our Endeavor ſinee in tranſporting Proviſions to little Niagara, intended for Detroit, has been ſafely hurried on without their offering to diſturb the Troops, but a few Days ago they killed a Man on the Race that dropped behind and ſcalped him. There are four Men more of the Flankers miſſed, all this without the Noiſe of a Gun. The Man that was ſcalped was between Starlings Houſe and the Fort. They gave one fire at the Troops, Fort, or in the Air, uncertain, none being hurt or any Damage done. I have no more to aequaint you of but conclude Sir,

Your moſt ob^{t} Serv^{t},

DE COUAGNE.

I forgot there were ſome Cattle ſent here from Ontario ſinee which we had up at Work and now they are all taken, ſtole by the Savages or ſtraying in the Woods.

NIAGARA, Nov^{r} 11th, 1763.

Honb^{le} Sirs:

My laſt to you was to aequaint you of Daniel, &c., which I hope came ſafe to your Hands, ſinee which a ſmall Party went out from the Lower Landing to cut Wood, when a Body of Indians ſurrounded them & killd & ſcalped nine, one of which had his Head cut off within Sight of that Poſt, it is ſuppoſed that the Indian who did this Murder was wounded from the Fort, as he was ſeen go off lame with the Head in his Hand, all which happen'd on the fifth Inſtant.

I am in hopes of a Line from you the firſt Oppertunity wherein ſhould be glad to know how Affairs go down the Country, I mean in regard to the Indians, &c.

I am Sir

Your obd^{t} Hum^{le} Ser.

DE COUAGNE.

P. S. Sir here is two Siſters of Silver Heells at this Place who would be glad to know where he is. One of them is the lame one, the other is the young one. Neither of them dare go to the Caſtle.

1763. Nov. & that all their Amunition, even the Mens Cartridges, were wet, & that they had wiſely (not knowing our Circumſtances) take na Reſolution to turn back to Niagara. But from the Steps Major Gladwin had taken ſome Time before he was in a Situation to keep a tolerable Garriſon here with Proviſion till the Month of May, & was in a good way of getting in enough till the Month of July, tho at the Expence of liſtening to the Demands of Peace the Indians had ſome Time before made, which notwithſtanding he did not grant them. But put them off by telling them they muſt wait the Generals Pleaſure, &c., as will appear from the Councils he held commencing about the Middle of October.

Dec. 5. This Day two Mohawks went from this by Land to Niagara with Letters; they came from Sanduſky to this Place, having come with a Paſs from Sir William Johnſton when the Schooner was attack'd.

7 This Day Andrew the Huron got 6000 of Wampam & a good deal of Vermillion for the Voyage he made laſt to Fort Pitt. The Reaſon he took ſo much of theſe Commoditys was (as he ſ^d) to ſend the young Men of Sanduſky to War againſt the Cherokees.

Mr. Jadeau told Major Gladwin that Lafontaine, an Inhabitant near his Houſe, told the People that the Peace was not yet made, and that the Army was only come to ſave the 200 Men who departed from hence under the Command of Major Rogers to reinforce the Garriſon at Quebec, he likewiſe took the Oppertunity of robbing the Merchants Batteaux that were brought in by the Indians when they were Drunk. He declar'd before Mon. Legrand that he had no more than 17 Yards of Chapmans Linnen, but Mr. Jadeau has found that he had 69 Yards. He broke open ſome Caſes and ſtole a Box with ſilver Trinkets which the Indians afterwards got from him. Prud'homme

Prud'homme Sen^{r} is a dangerous Man & animates the Savages. He underſtands their Language & told them not to go off, for if they did the Engliſh wou'd hang the French, and as for Proviſion they (the Savages) ſhould never want. 1763. Dec.

Michael Campeau told the Indians of two Barrels of Powder that were hid in Mr. Jadeaux Houſe, he likewiſe animated the Indians very much. Buxton, an Ottawa Chief lodg'd in his Houſe.

S^{t} Louis, an Officer of the Militia on the South Side of the River, ſaid, when Mr. Jadeau was in Council with the Hurons, engaging them not to ſtrike againſt the Engliſh, and gave them three Days to conſider of it. What! ſaid S^{t} Louis, four Days? it muſt be reſolv'd immediately; ſhall we let our Throats be cut for the Sake of the Engliſh? which ſignified, ſays Mr. Jadeau, that they ſhou'd rather ſtrike againſt the Engliſh than have the ill will of the Savages. He alſo ſaid it wou'd be a luckier thing for them to be with the Indians than the Engliſh. Another Time he told the Informer that he did not know what Dominion he was under.

This Day Mindoghquay (a Chief of the Sagginaws who was in the Fort the 16 June & aſk'd the Commandants Friendſhip, &c. as he had not enter'd into the War) ariv'd here with three Priſoners of the 60 Reg^{t} & one Sailor who was brought from the Chibbawas by one Beaulieu, and demanded the Continuation of the Commandants Friendſhip as he had promiſ'd in the Summer and gave him a Pipe of Peace & ſeveral large Belts. He was very well rec^{d} by the Commandant, as he had obey'd all his Orders from the firſt Time he came into the Fort, retiring with his People and not committing Hoſtillities as others did. 12

Laſt Night one Mackoy ariv'd here, having made his 22

1763. Dec. his Eſcape from the Puttawattamees about fifteen Ligues from this.

23 This Day Mr. Cicotte came to the Fort & told the Commandant that the Puttawamees intended to have brought the Man in that made his Eſcape two or three Days ago, and that they intended to come in hoping he wou'd pity them.

25 This Day Mr. Marſac inform'd us that he was aſur'd that there was four or five of the Puttawattamys of Naintaws Family that intended to come and take a Scalp if poſſible, & deſir'd the Commandant wou'd not let any body go out of the Fort, as ſome of the Merchants had ſtraggled out in the Country ſome Days before.

27 This Day a Mohawk with one David Vanderhiden ariv'd Expreſs from Niagara, which they left two Days after the Arival of Major Rogers, who was only ſix Days in going from the Detroit River to the Niagara.

31 This Day ſix Indians (originally of the Saqui[68] Nation) but at preſent of the Puttawattame came in with a Priſoner, & told the Commandant that they came in Hopes of receiving Mercy. That if they pretended entirely to excuſe themſelves from being concern'd in the late War they wou'd lye, but that did not ſignify, tho' they were living amongſt the Puttawattamys they were not of that Nation, nor like them. That what offence they committed was through fear, as they had been oblig'd to aſk liberty to live amongſt them, having been oblig'd anciently to fly from other Nations, who had this Summer made War againſt their Brothers.

That they knew their Brothers the Putts had lied, & even come & ſpoke to their Brother & the ſame Day fir'd againſt his Fort, but begg'd he wou'd not

[68] Sacs.

think

think that they had an Inclination to do the ſame, but that they ſpoke from their Hearts, & came to offer one of his Fleſh which had fallen to them by Lot, & to demand Mercy. That their Familys were ſtarving. That they cou'd not come into the Fort in the Summer as the Fort was every Day on fire. That in fine they beg'd that they might live in the ſame Friendſhip with their Brother that they had done when he took Poſſeſſion of the Country. That they hop'd, nor they wou'd not return Home ſhamefully, ſuppoſe their Brothers did not liſten to them, as what they did was their Duty & which they wou'd have done before but had not an Oppertunity. That notwithſtanding they were Orphans & had no Chiefs, & knew that the other Indians wou'd laugh at them, & aſk'd them how their Brother rec^{d} them at his Fort, they wou'd not be aſham'd as it was their Duty they were doing, but nevertheleſs expected their Brother wou'd take them in Compaſſion. 1763. Dec.

The Priſoner being aſk'd if he knew of their going from Home during the Summer ſaid they always ſtay'd upon their Land the whole Time, except the two that was at Preſq Iſle where he was taken, & they never went abroad to War after he came amongſt them, but once in the Summer came as far as Mr. Gamelins with him to give him up, & the other Nations told them not to go to the Fort as they wou'd be kill'd. 1764.

This Day Baby & Theata with four or five more of their Relations came in to wiſh the Commandant a happy new Year, as is their Cuſtom, whom he rec^{d} very well. Jan. 10.

This Day ſome of the Puttawattamys came to the Settlement & ſent in Word by Mr. Cicotte that they wanted to come & ſee their Brother the Command^{t} but Mr. Cecotte was told that the Command^{t} had nothing 11

to

1764. Jan. to ſay to them & they wou'd do much better to ſtay at their hunting Ground.

12 This Day Vanderhiden & Jacob the Mohawk left this for Niagara with Letters.

13 This Day one of the Chibbaways came to the Settlement & ſent for Mr. Labute to deſire him to aſk the Commandant leave to come in & ſee him, which Mr. Labute inform'd him of, but the Commandant told Mr. Labute not to make him any Anſwer, but let him, the Indian, return as he ſaid he intended to do the next Morning.

14 This Day the Huron Chiefs (Baby, Theata & the Doctors Son) went to ſee the Command^{t} before they went away, & after talking of the Beginning of this Indian War, &c., Mr. St. Martin ſaid it was ſure that it took its riſe from the Belts that paſſ'd amongſt the Indians two Years ago, & that it was commenc'd in Conſequence of the Succours that the Indians were made to believe they might expect from the Illinois. That one Sibbold that came here laſt Winter with his Wife from the Illinois, had told at Mr. Cuellierrey's that they might expect a French Army in this Spring, & that, that Report took riſe from him. That the Day Capt. Campbelle & Lt. McDougal was detain'd by the Indians, Mr. Cuellierry accepted of their Offer of being made Commandant, if this Place was taken, to which he ſpoke to Mr. Cuellierry about and aſk'd him if he knew what he was doing, to which Mr. Cuellierry told him I am almoſt diſtracted, they are like ſo many Dogs about me, to which Mr. St. Martin made him no Anſwer.

20 This Day two Michilimackinac Chiefs came in to ſee the Commandant, with one or two Waſhtinon Chiefs from the Grand River who were here in the Beginning of the Summer about fifteen Days, but went away

away. They brought in a Priſonner that was given to them by the Ottawas. 1764. Feb.

This Day Wabagommigot, a Chief of the Toronto Indians who came in laſt Fall, return'd and aſk'd a Certificate which the Commandant at that time promiſ'd him of his Behavior, which he gave him. 1

This Day ſome of the Saky's came in with the other Priſoner they promiſ'd to bring in the laſt Time they were in the Fort. 14

This Evening Aron the Mohawk ariv'd from Fort Pitt with Letters from the General.

This Day ſome of the Ottawas of the Grand Rivierre ariv'd with a Priſoner whom they bought from ſome other Indians. 20

This Morning the Gunner going his Rounds found a Brand's end that had been ſet up againſt the Magazine Door the Night before, which appear'd to have been on fire but was gone out. Mar. 12

This Day a Cow belonging to one Moran came in from the Woods with ten Arrows ſticking in her, which were ſuppoſ'd to be ſhot by ſome Party of Indians that was lying about the Fort. 14

This Day two or three Frenchmen ſaw a ſmall Party of Indians back of the Fort going loaded with Meat, which muſt be the Cattle that was kill'd & miſſing for two or three Days paſt. 18

There has been a Party of Puttawattamys in the Settlement every Night ſince the 15th Inſtant.

This Day the Commanding Officer was inform'd that one Mintiwaby, an Ottawa Chief of the Grand River, was to come in under a Pretence of Trade & endeavour to ſurprize him & put all the Officers to Death. M. Informer. 21

This Day two Saky's came in and inform'd the Commandant that the Chibbaways of the Iſles about Michilimackinac 23

1764. March. Michilimackinac had ſent Belts this Winter to their Nation, to the Folavin & Puante, to ſtrike againſt us this Spring, but they wou'd not receive them. That Waſſong & Maſhoquiſe had tried to prevent that Party from coming from towards St. Joſeph that was here ſome Time ago, but they wou'd not be adviſ'd, they ſaid they had loſt a Man laſt Year & they wou'd have Revenge. That if they had known it ſooner they wou'd have adviſ'd us of it before they arriv'd, but they [knew] nothing of it till they were gone.

That the Delawares & Shawanys had ſent Belts during the Winter towards St. Joſeph & La Bay to invite the Nations thereabout to take up Arms againſt us in the Spring.

27 This Day France Ruiard ſet off with two other Frenchmen Expreſs to Niagara.

29 This Day the Commandant being inform'd that there was thirteen Indians in the Woods behind the Settlement, who were come to make War, ſent out a Party commanded by Lt. M'Dougal of twenty Men to try to fall upon them by ſurprize; they ſet off a little after Dark & went through the Fields guided by a Frenchman to the Place where their Fire had been ſeen, but not finding them there, they return'd towards a Houſe that they had been at the Night before, & fell in with them on their way, but the Indians finding they were diſcover'd run off, after receiving the Fire of the moſt of the Party, but it was ſo dark that they cou'd not ſee to ajuſt their Firelocks & don't know whether they kill'd any or no.

30 This Day an Indian was ſeen at the Edge of the Woods behind the Fort.

April 12 This Morning at ten o'Clock the Schooner ſail'd for Niagara, in which were ſent the two French Priſoners, as the Commandant was inform'd that the Indians

dians had ſaid they ſhou'd not long be Priſoners, and as it was imagin'd if any thing was intended by them, it was through the Influence of the Friends of theſe two. 1764. April.

Laſt Night at about 8 o'Clock [a] Priſoner came in from Sagginaw who reported that the Day before he came away the Indians kill'd and eat a young Girl they had Priſoner & that he was to been kill'd that Day himſelf, but they ſent him out to bring in ſome Wood & he run off; he was eight Days a coming, but when he was aſk'd if he was hungry he ſaid no, that for the firſt two or three Days he was fainty, but ſince he found no great alteration though he had not eat a mouthfull of any thing the whole eight Days. 15

This Day Andrew a Huron & two others from Sanduſky brought in one Mr. Prentice whom they had Priſoner ſince laſt May. They told the Commandant they were not ſent by any Chief, but as he (the one that ſpoke) looked upon Mr. Prentice as his real Brother, he told him in the Winter he wou'd bring him in, for he choſe to ſee him content at this Place than diſcontent with him, which was the Reaſon he brought him in. But he imagined that Mr. Prentice cou'd have other no Reaſon for leaving them, than becauſe he cou'd not get Bread amongſt them. 27

Mr. Prentice ſaid that he never wanted for any thing they had during the whole Winter, & notwithſtanding this Man never got any of the Plunder that the Indians took from him when they made him Priſoner, he gave him two Packs of Beaver & twenty Dollars when he gave him up.

This Day a four in the Afternoon the Commandant thought he heard a Cannon down the River & fir'd another. 28

This Morning at Half paſt four Mr. Jadeau ariv'd from the Veſſel with Letters and inform'd us that they 29

1764. April. fir'd a Gun from the Veſſel about the Time the Commandant thought he heard one.

This Afternoon eight Huron Chiefs & two or three young Men came to ſpeak to the Commandant. Theata ſpeaks:

My Brother, we beg you may take Pity upon us & hear us, that the Words we now ſay may be as a Carpet for your Succeſſor to walk upon.

Brother, we beg you to have Pity upon us and be aſſured of our good Intentions, as we have moſt faithfully repented of all the Ill we may have done, & do ſincerely promiſe never to be guilty of any bad Thing for the Future, having thrown ourſelves into the Hands of God, if any Evil happens to us it muſt be from him, as you may be perſuaded let the Earth turn how it will, we ſhall never be adviſ'd to a bad Thing again.

This, Brother, we beg you will inform the General of the firſt Oppertunity. Gave a large white Belt.

Another Chief got up with a ſtring of Wampum and ſaid:

Brother, ever ſince the Engliſh have had Poſſeſſion of this Place we have been uſ'd very tenderly, agreeable to the Promiſe you made us when you firſt came here, for which Reaſon we hope our Brother will grant us the ſmall favour we are going to aſk.

Brother, as Wood & Bark is very unhandy to us at our old Village we hope you will give us leave to make a new one up a ſmall Creek near the Bottom of the Settlement, where every thing will be more convenient. Granted.

Brother, when you firſt came here you told us you had conquer'd our Father & ſent him over the Great Lake, & that all that then belong'd to him was yours, but that we ſhou'd remain in our former Poſſeſſions and

and be allowed the Jeſuiſt, and now as we are going to alter our Village we hope you will not prevent him going with us. Gave a ſtring of Wampum. 1764. May.

Granted by the Commandant.

This Evening four Indians ſent by Sir William Johnſton ariv'd here with a Speech to the Nations hereabout. 6

This Day we were inform'd by Mr. Jadeau that one Rainbeau & his Family with one L'eſperence went off to the Illinois. 8

This Morning at Half paſt ſix the Schooner ſail'd for Niagara, in which went Peter & the three other Indians that came here with a Speech from Sir William Johnſon. 15

This Afternoon ſome of the Saky's came in and inform'd us that one Lageſſe and four other Puttawattamees were ſome where in the Woods near the Fort, and intended to try to take a Scalp.

This Morning the Schooner anchor'd off the Fort after having been kept at the Mouth of the River three Days with contrary Winds. June 2.

This Morning a Band of Chippawas who were at the Groſs Point dividing themſelves amongſt the Inhabitants, aſk'd at ſeveral Places for Proviſion, &c., one of them being refuſ'd a Cock by a Farmer had a Diſpute with him, & becauſe he wou'd not let him have it fir'd at him and ſhot him through the Body.

This Day the Band of Chippewas who fir'd at the Frenchman headed by a Chief they call'd the Great Spoon, came with a Belt & Pipe to Mr. Marſack, telling him they were very ſorry for what they had done, which Belt & Pipe he brought to the Commandant next Day with a Priſoner they had ſold him who was taken at Preſq' Iſle. The Man they fir'd at died of his Wounds laſt Night. 3

They

1764. June. They then ſent in a Frenchman to tell the Commandant they had always been Fools, but that their Senſes were now come to them and beg'd he might receive them, to which he ſent them Word that when they return'd the Goods that Mr. Marſac gave them for the Priſoner & brought in the reſt as they had promiſ'd the Fall before, he wou'd ſee them, but not till then.

4 Being his Majeſties Birthday, the Garriſon was under Arms at 1 o'Clock & fir'd three Volleys with three Diſcharges of the Cannon in the Fort & one of thoſe in the Schooner; after which His Majeſties Health was drunk upon the Parade by all the Officers & ſeveral Frenchmen who were aſk'd there by the Commandant who afterwards din'd & ſup'd with all the Officers of the Garriſon together. At nine at Night almoſt the whole Town was eluminated.

6 Mr. Marſack after going to the Prieſts came in haſte to the Commandant to tell him that the Indians had return'd him his Merchandiſe that he had given for the Priſoner two or three Days before, & wanted to come in. To which the Commandant ſent the ſame Anſwer as he had done two or three Days before, that when they brought in all the reſt of the Priſoners & their Chiefs came in a proper Manner, he wou'd receive them.

7 This Morning Mr. Marſack came in and inform'd the Commandant that there was a ſmall Band of Chippawas from beyond Saggina to come in, who came with a Belt & Pipe of Peace, and after they had ſmok'd & told the Commandant they were come to open a new Road between him & their Nation, as the old one had been ſhut up for ſome Time; he enquir'd what they were & who ſent them, & found that they were from the ſame Place & Village with thoſe that ſold the Priſoner to Marſack a few Days before, and had no Authority

thority for coming nor had no Chief with them, but they were Part of a Party that came to the Settlement about ſeven or eight Days before, conſiſting of forty Men, who told the Inhabitants they did not come to make Peace but to make War. All which they could not deny. The Commandant then took a String & Wampum & told them to take that to their Chiefs & tell them when they brought in the other Priſoner they had in Poſſeſſion & came & aſk'd Peace in a proper Manner he wou'd hear them, and until then one of them muſt ſtay with him, as perhaps they might to ſell the reſt, & at the ſame Time told them to tell their Chiefs if any thing happen'd to his People amongſt them, he knew what to do with thoſe he had. When they saw this a ſecond offer'd to ſtay to keep the firſt one Company ; he is a Son of 1764. June.

The Coll. then aſk'd them if he had three or four of his Nation Priſoners, & wou'd ſend two or three of his People to their Village wheather they would not keep them, to which they ſaid they wou'd. Then ſaid he you wou'd undoubtedly think me a Fool to let you all go when you have Priſoners of mine. They then ſ'd perhaps it wou'd be hard for them to get thoſe Priſoners, as they did not belong to their Relations. Yes, but ſaid the Commandant, if they have an inclination for Peace as you told me a few Minutes ago, they will bring them in without any Difficulty. They then ſ'd they were a little Band of ſix or ſeven, every one for himſelf ; then ſ^{d} the Interpreter how came you here to make a new Road for the whole Nation and fight in alliance with them all laſt Summer ; to which they hung their Heads & cou'd not ſay any thing.

This Day the Schooner ſail'd with a head Wind for Niagara and got below the Hurons Point. 10

This Day the Schooner return'd the Wind being freſh 11

1764. June. freſh ahead, and as Teata the Indian Chief ariv'd at their Village with Aron & two other Mohawks who came into the Fort and gave the following Intelligence annex'd in two Sheets of Paper:

DETROIT, June 9th 1764.

This Day a ſmall Party of Puttawattamees ariv'd here who inform'd, that an Indian was come from the Illinois to St. Joſephs who inform'd them that he was in Council with Pondiac there.

That Mr. Deneyon told him he was glad to ſee him & hoped that his Senſes were come to him.

Pondiac then took a large Belt and laid it before him ſaying, my Father the Reaſon of my Journey is to get you and all your Allies to joyn with me to go againſt the Engliſh, upon which Deneyon took the the Belt & told him, your Speech much ſurprizes me, as I doubt not but you have receiv'd my Meſſage wherein I inform'd you that the French and Engliſh were but one, then return'd the Belt. Pondiac took the Belt again and importun'd Mr. Deneyon on the ſame Subject. At laſt Mr. Deneyon grew angry & kick'd it from him, aſking him if he had not already heard what he ſ'd to him. He then addreſſ'd himſelf to the Illinois Indians & told them they ſaw him that Day in the Fort, but perhaps they wou'd ſee their Brothers the Engliſh the next, and exhorted them to live in amity with them, which he made no doubt of as their Sentiments were very good.

Pondiac then aſk'd for Rum & Deneyon gave him a ſmall Barrel, which he took to one of the Illinois Villages & with a red Belt exhorted them to ſing the War Song with him, which ſome of them did, but were ſorry for it when they were Sober. The Indian that brought this Account ſays that before he left the Illinois he ſaw three Engliſh Officers who were ſent on before,

before, the Army being but a little way behind with a large Body of Indians. 1764. June.

DETROIT, June 10th 1764.

This Day Teata a Wiandott Chief ariv'd here from Sanduſky, where he had been to carry Sir William Johnſon's Speech, who ſays that after he deliver'd it and left it to their deliberation, the great Chief Bigg Jaco got up and thank'd him for the Trouble he had been at to bring it, and immediately the whole went out. After he had deliver'd the Speech he ſays he adviſ'd them to come to their Senſes, but in caſe they did not it was their Affair. Aron ſays they made great Game of Teata on ſaying ſo to them.

Four Days after, they came back and aſk'd Teata to come and hear what they had to ſay in Anſwer. The firſt Belt they gave him was a Repetition of Sir Williams Speech. Then they took another ſaying, Sir William aſks the Reaſon why we ſtruck againſt the Engliſh, we think he ought to know better than any body; yes, ſaid they, it is Sir William that ought to know, but ſince the Senecas have made Peace with him & the Engliſh, tell him it was them that firſt embroil'd the Earth, & were the firſt Cauſe of what has been done. Gave the Belt.

They then took another Belt & ſaid, Sir William & the Six Nations want that we ſhould own our Folly & find words to excuſe ourſelves that we may be again ſet right. You'll tell him by this Belt, which you are charg'd to deliver to him, that for what is paſt, its paſt, that we have yet done no Harm ſince laſt Summer, we have kept our young Men quiet, for which Reaſon we think the Breach may be eaſily mended; and tell him alſo we ſhall keep them quiet this Summer, when we think we ſhall be reconcil'd.

The two Mohawks who are come with Teata, ſay that

1764. June. that they were told by the Hurons of Sanduſky, that they wou'd not tell Teata the Reſult of a Council they had had with the Shawanies, which was that they were to try to take Fort Pitt by Treachery, & if they fail'd there were to go ag^{t} the Inhabitants on the Frontiers. That the Onondagoes that Sir William ſent againſt the Shawanies came to one of their Villages, where they were aſk'd what they came for, they ſaid we come to ſcalp you ; then one Kayoughſhoutong ſaid here, take theſe, giving them two old Scalps that he had newly painted, go home & tell Sir William you have ſcalp'd ſome Shawanies. Upon which they return'd ; that the above mentioned Indian was the Cauſe of their not ſtriking againſt the Shawanies. But it was not ſo with the Tuſcroras, for they loſt three Men.

One of them further ſays that before he left the Delaware Towns he ſaw thirty ſmall Partys go out who were all intended to go to our Frontiers. They both ſay, alſo, that the Hurons at Sanduſky laugh'd at Teata behind his Back, & call'd him a Fool for believing what Sir William ſayd and bringing ſuch a Meſſage.

That tho' he ſaid they wou'd be Friends, it can never be until all the Engliſh, except Traders go from this Place, meaning Detroit, & then we believe we ſhall agree. That their God tells them they muſt make War & Peace for ſeven Years, at the End of which by force of Treachery during that Time, all the Engliſh will be drove away & then they will have Peace and not till then.

That the Delawares & Shawanies and Hurons of Sanduſky all ſay the Engliſh are Fools, that they can make Friends with us when they pleaſe, and next Day tomahawk us. That the Engliſh allways told them they had as many Men as there was Leaves on the Trees, but wee look upon one Indian as good as a thouſand

of them, and notwithſtanding we are but Mice in compariſon to them, we will bite as much as they can. The two Mohawks father ſays that the Hurons at Sanduſky told them they were very ſorry that Sir William was coming here, as they imagin'd by that he wanted to leave his Bones here. 1764. June.

They alſo ſay that while they were at the Shawanie Village the French from the Miſſiſſippi ſent them a Preſent of Powder, of which he ſaw three Barrels.

Mr. St. Martin, Interpreter, told Coll. Gladwin that Hurons of this Place told him many Times that if a Peace was made with the Delawares, Shawanies & Hurons of Sanduſky, that it would not be good, nor laſting.

The Schooner ſail'd at about four in the Afternoon, and run out of Sight from the Fort before dark. 12

This Day Teata & ſeveral Hurons came to the Fort & aſk'd the Commandant if they might not go once more to the Hurons of Sanduſky, as perhaps tho' their Ears had always been ſtop'd till now yet they might be open at preſent. 13

The Commandant told them they might do as they pleaſ'd, that he had ſent their Anſwer to Sir William Johnſon with their Belts, that it was not intended to force a Peace down the Throats of the Indians, nor was it intended for any but thoſe who had ſincerely repented of what they had done, & was realy reſolv'd to remain our Friends for the Future. That in his opinion they ought not to go, as they only laugh'd at the Meſſage taken by Teata, & him for carrying it.

This Day a Huron promiſ'd to ſet off with his little Band of about twelve to bring in ſome Delaware or Shawany Scalps. 14

This Day Wabagommigot came in with ſome Chippawas & two Priſoners & after repeating a good deal 15

1763. June. of what paſſ'd in Council laſt Fall, ſaid that as the Commandant had deſir'd him ſeveral Times go to his old Village & to ſee him yet here, would perhaps make him think that he had no Intention to do what he had order'd him, but the Reaſon was, that he had been trying to get all the Priſoners that was among his Nation & to gather his Band together, which he had now almoſt affect'd; he did not ſpeak for the whole Nation, but for thoſe who were with him who had heartily repented of what they had done & hop'd to be receiv'd as he himſelf was. That there were ſome whom he advertiſed of what he (the Commandant) had told him with regard to their quick Repentance & of the Council that was to be held at Niagara, but ſince they did not come in it was their Affair. He then aſk'd for the two Priſoners, ſaying it was nothing, but this War, that ſepperated him from the reſt of the Nation, who were nevertheleſs part of his Body, for which Reaſon hop'd they wou'd be given up, as he then wip'd away all the Blood that had been ſpilt with the two Priſoners he brought in. That he hop'd in going home to his old Village he might not hear it ſaid that things went ill at the Detroit becauſe Wabigommigot was refuſ'd that Favour. That ſince the Malefactors he then ſpoke for (meaning People he had with him) were come to their Senſes, & heartily repented of what they had done, & as they were ſet on by the Six Nations, hop'd they wou'd be forgiven & no more thought of it.

The Commandant then aſk'd him if he came in the Name of the whole Nation, he ſ'd no, but in Part. Then ſ'd he if you'l take my Advice you'l go to Niagara before the Council is over & make Peace for yourſelf & Band; you have no Time to loſe as it will be over in twelve Days. And as to the Priſoners I ſhall

ſhall keep them till I get all mine in, as they belong to a Band that has not as yet aſk'd for Peace nor brought in all my fleſh. As to what he (Wabbigomigot) might hear of things going ill here, nothing cou'd go ill with us, but if any body did any thing that they ought not to do, it wou'd be them that wou'd ſuffer; that we were out of their Power. He then repeated to him that it was neceſſary he ſhou'd be at Niagara at the Council, for which Purpoſe he wou'd give me a Receipt, that he had deliver'd two Priſoners, &c.; that the Time was ſhort & the ſooner he went off the better. 1764. June.

The Frenchman that danc'd the War Dance at Sanduſky this Spring with the Indians is named Thefault.

This Day Mindockquay came in with about 70 of his People & about thirty Chibbaways who brought in two Priſoners, being the laſt they had amongſt them, for whom the Commandant gave them the two Indians he detain'd ſome Time ago. 25

The Puttawattameſs after all the Promiſes did not go to Niagara, nor Wabbigomigot neither.

This Day the Schooner Victory return'd from Niagara with another new Schooner, the Boſton. 28

This Evening at about ten o'Clock one Reaume, a Frenchman, ariv'd from Michilimackinac with 18 Cannoes of Savages who came from the Bay the 3d June to go to Montreal, but when they ariv'd at Michilimackinac they were inform'd that ten Cannoes that were going there and an Expreſs with a Belt informing them that they ſhou'd go to Niagara where they wou'd meet a great Engliſh Chief, upon which they took their Route this way, & ſeveral Cannoes from the Nations thereabouts went acroſs Lake Huron by way of Lake Ontario. They brought four Engliſh- July 1.

men

1764. July. men with them with all their Packs, who had been amongſt them ſince laſt Spring was a Year.

3 This Day ſome of greateſt of the Huron Chiefs of Sanduſky came in with five Priſoners to throw themſelves at the Commandants Feet, as they ſaid, and after telling him that what they had done was in conſequence of what Meſſages and Lyes the Ottawas ſent them, ſaid that if he wou'd have pity on them, he wou'd ſee they were ſincere, as his Will was theirs.

The Commandant told them the only way they had to get a Peace, and if they did not benefit of what he ſaid, it was their Affair. He gave them a Certificate that they had deliver'd five Priſoner and that they had aſk'd for Peace, which they ſaid they wou'd take to Niagara with all the reſt of the Priſoners they had amongſt them.

This Afternoon the Michilimackinack Chiefs & Folle Avoines came in told the Commandant they came to take him by the Hand & let him know they were glad to ſee him, & wou'd come to morrow to ſpeake to him.

4 This Morning the above Indians came in to the Amount of fifty & told the Commandant that they, the Renards, the Sieus, the Saky's, Puants & Pians, were one Body & one Heart, and that, that Heart was as well intentioned as it had always been ; that he'knew himſelf from their Behavior laſt Year, that their & ours cou'd be but one; that they were invited by the General laſt Year to come to Montreal this Spring, but that when they were aſſembled at Michilimacinac they received a Belt from him, telling them that he ſtop'd up the Paſſage that way as the Small Pox was amongſt his People which they might catch & carry Home to the Deſtruction of their Wifes & Children, but if they wou'd go to Niagara they wou'd find all they

they were in need of, for which Reaſon they beg'd the Rivers & Lakes might be open to them as uſual, ſhewing the Belt they receiv'd. 1764. July.

This Day ſome of the Hurons of this Village came in with the Chiefs of Hurons of Sanduſky who were in the Day before yeſterday & brought with them ſome Hurons that ariv'd the Day before to join their old Village & brought in five Priſoners, whom they ſaid they wou'd not have brought in till their Chiefs return'd from Niagara,[69] had it not been to encourage thoſe of Sanduſky to do the ſame, as the Commandant knew he was always ſure of them, but nevertheleſs, tho they had, had ſome of them ſince they ſuck'd, yet that the Chiefs from Sanduſky might be witneſs of their good Intentions they brought them in ſooner than they promiſ'd. 5

The Huron that went to ſtrike againſt the Delawares & Shawanies return'd this day without doing any thing.

This Day Mr. Jadeau in repeating to the Commandant ſomethings that had paſſ'd between him and one Clermont (who had been ſent with a Letter to the Illinois, but went no further than where the Ottawas are in the Miamee River) ſaid that Clermont told him, you do very well in ſerving the Engliſh, but I have my Reaſons for what I do, and you will ſoon be oblig'd to ſave yourſelf in the Fort. Another thing ſaid he I'll tell you that you don't know, the Engliſh are all 7

[69] Theſe Chiefs had gone to Niagara to hold a Treaty with Sir William Johnſon. The Treaty was ſigned July 18, 1764, and bound the Hurons to deliver up all Priſoners, Deſerters and Negroes or other Slaves among them; to maintain a friendly Alliance and to do their utmoſt to preſerve His Britannic Majeſty's Intereſts and promote Peace among the weſtern Tribes. They were promiſed Pardon for all paſt Miſdeeds, and a free, fair and open Privilege of Trade.—*N. Y. Col. Hiſt.*, vii, 650.

defeated

1764. July. defeated in the Miſſiſſippi and there will be fourteen hundred Men ſoon here, and all the Indians that are going to Niagara have agreed with the Ottawas to return with the Army, & the Ottawas are to meet them on the Lake & try to deſtroy them. That Merchandize & Powder was in the greateſt plenty at the Miamee River.

That one Borgard who came from St. Joſephs brought them a Barrel of Powder & ſome Corn, Flour, &c. That there was one Clincincourt a French Officer, who was ſent by Mr. Deneyon with Letters for the Commandant here, was ſtop'd by the Ottawas, where they keep him, neither giving him Liberty to return nor come forward.

This Afternoon a Saggina Indian who had been ſent by his Brother, as he ſaid, to the Miamee River to ſee what paſſ'd came in and inform'd that while he was there a French Officer ariv'd there from the Illinois who was coming here with Letters, but the Ottawas ſtop'd him & took his Letters from him, and ſent for Cuſieres Son to read them. After which one of the Ottawa Chiefs told him that Cueſſiere had told them that it was a Letter from their Father the French King, who deſir'd his Brothers the Engliſh to make haſte & go away from this Place, for he was coming in a great Body & had a great many of his Children with him, whoſe Inclination he was not Maſter of, & wou'd not anſwer for what harm they might do. The Officer they keep there & will neither let him go back or forward.

10 This Day Part of the four following Nations ariv'd here, the Saky's, the Renards, the Puants, and the Saulteux of Lake Superior, ſome of whom came from the Forks of the Miſſiſſippi (and from all Appearance, and what they ſaid) they came in Expectation of getting Rum. They were upwards of two Months a coming;

coming; they brought upwards of ſixty Packs of Beaver. 1764. July.

This Day at 2 o'Clock the two Schooners left this for the eaſt End of Lake Erie. 12

This Day Mr. Clinencourt ariv'd from the Miamee, who had been detain'd by the Ottawas. 13

This Day at about 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon the Schooner Gladwin ariv'd from Niagara. 14

This Day Waſſong, a Chief of the Chibbaways came in with a Priſoner that he had promiſ'd to bring in, in the Winter, but who had got Froſt bit and was not able to come. After telling that he was not concern'd in the Beginning of the Inſurrection and aſking Pardon in a moſt ſubmiſſive Manner ſaid: he did not pretend to excuſe himſelf, that as he had told Mr. LaBute in the Spring he would behave as a Dog that had offended his Maſter, that if he was puniſh'd & was miſerable he had no body to blame but himſelf, and wou'd ſtill fawn till he was taken into Favour again, for that he was as a Dog that had been beaten and was running round his Maſter with Fear & Reſpect, and wou'd continue till he was pardonned, having ſince laſt Fall reſolv'd to die rather than diſobey his Brothers Will. And aſked what were the moſt ſalutary Means to be well received by the General, ſince he had not been inform'd that he ſhou'd have gone to Niagara. At the ſame Time begging Mercy in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner and ſaid if his Brother cou'd ſee the Diſtreſs their Familys were in, he wou'd have Pity upon them & think they were puniſh'd enough. 21

The Commandant told him the Reaſon of the Inſurrection was becauſe they had ſomething then in their Power which they wou'd never have again, for if they had they wou'd act the ſame Part over again.

In the Evening we were inform'd that the Sloop Royal 22

1763. July. Royal Charlotte was aground on this Side [of] the Whitewood; at 2 in the Morning a Detachment was ſent with four Batteaux to lighten her & get her off, which they did next Day by four in the Afternoon, and the 24th ſhe ariv'd here.

27 The Schooner Boſton arived from Niagara.

29 This Morning at 11 o'Clock the Sloop Charlotte ſet Sail for Niagara with Wind at N. W.

In the Afternoon Manitoo, an Ottawa Chief, with five other Ottawas, four of whome were from the Miamee River, came in with three Priſoners. The Speaker ſaid that God had been ſpeaking with him a great deal this laſt Winter, & that what he y^{n} ſaid was the Sentiments of all the Chiefs, and beg'd to be pitied & heard. He then beg'd Pardon for what they had done in a moſt ſubmiſſive Manner; the Reaſon of their beginning he did not know, but he that ſet them on (Pondiac) was return'd from the Illinois, but was no more heard by any body in the Nation; that God had told him he had done wrong, that he had made this Earth for them & us to live quietly together in, & that Pondiac the Cauſer of its being diſturbed wou'd not die but wou'd burn in Hell eternally, as all thoſe wou'd do who did not follow the Advice & obey the Will of their Brother. God alſo told him he muſt not lie, ſteal, nor covet another Mans Wife, all which Commands they would ſtrictly adhere to for the Future, and that their Brother ſhould ſee that what they ſaid was true & ſincere in the End, & hop'd he wou'd have Pity upon them. That they wou'd return to Sanduſky to where their Corn was planted, and after it was gather'd wou'd come and aſk'd Liberty to ſtay there another Year, and that after that if their Brother was convinc'd of their Sincerity they hop'd he wou'd give them Liberty to come & ſettle their antient Village.

The

The Commandant told them if they did not know the Reaſon of their beginning he would tell them. The Reaſon was, ſaid he, that you had at that Time ſomething in your Power that you will never have again, for if you had I am ſure you would make the ſame Uſe of it you have already done, but if you bring in all thoſe who ſet you on, black or white, I ſhall tell the General what you ſay, and it may be a Step toward your getting Peace, but it does not look as if you were very ſincere, ſince this is the firſt of your Appearance. But I ſuppoſe the Reaſon of your coming is becauſe your vain Hopes of an Army from the Illinois is vaniſh'd & you ſee yourſelves without Succour. 1764. July.

To which the Speaker ſaid the Reproaches their Brother made them were very juſt, but it was not the Chiefs Fault that they did not come ſooner, but his, for God had told him to remain quiet & not mind any more bad Belts for that he wou'd be forgiven when they proſtrated themſelves before their Brother. And as a Proof of their ſincerity they wou'd go and endeavour to bring in the People he mentioned.

This Day the Schooner Victory ariv'd from Niagara loaded with Baggage for the 17th; ſhe left Niagara the 20th, but had very bad Weather. She ſprung her Bowſprit and broke her Gaft. 30

Yeſterday ſome of the Hurons came to dance before the Commandants Door, & after they had done were going away, when one of them who ſtay'd a little behind was ſtop'd by a Royal American near Mr. St. Martins Houſe, where he coax'd him in and murder'd him as it appears from all the Circumſtances of the Affair; the Soldier was immediately put in Irons, and the Commandant was going to ſend for the Chiefs, when two of them came into the Fort, having been inform'd of it by two other Indians who ſtay'd behind a little 31

1764. July. little Time with him that was murder'd, who tho they did not ſee the Stroke, was near enough to hear it, as was alſo a Corporal of the Artillery.

Aug. 5 This Day *the little Chief* came in and inform'd Mr. Labute that Seckaho had deceived the Commandant, that he was gone back to the Miamee River to where his Corn was, & that after it was ripe, he heard that Seckaho & what People of his Band would go with him, with thoſe of Pondiacs Band were going off to the Illinois.

8 This Day Mintiwaby from Saggina came in with ſix or ſeven of Mindochquays Band, and brought a Priſoner that he had had all the Winter, who Mindochquay told the Commandant in the Spring, would have then been brought in, but Mintiwaby was gone to Michilimackinac. He ſaid that the Chippewas at Shaguomigan had ſent a Pipe to Mindochquays Band, & deſir'd him to ſend it to Machoquiſh who wou'd ſend it to the Shawnies & Delawares with the following Anſwer, to the Invitation they gave them to join with them to ſtrike againſt the Engliſh laſt Fall as Mochoquiſh had ſent the Belt from the Sha. & Dele. namely, That they had no Complaints againſt their Brothers the Engliſh, & they had a greater Regard for their Wives, Children & young Men, than to enter into ſo bad a Thing.

10 This Afternoon at about four o'Clock, the Sloop Charlotte & Schooner Gladwin ariv'd here, Commodore Loring & Capt. Grant came in the former.

11 This Day Maſhoquiſh, a Puttawattamy Chief, ſent in a Turkey & ſome Veniſon & deſir'd the Commandant would except of it, as he was unworthy of coming into the Fort, but nevertheleſs he & the Chiefs of the Puttawattamees of St. Joſephs were getting the Priſoners they had together to bring them in, in two or three

three Days in caſe they would be received. And that if the Commandant had not a Mind to ſtarve him, he beg'd he wou'd ſend him two or three Charges of Powder and Ball. 1764. Aug.

This Day *the little Chief* told Mr. Labute that Pondiac continued his uſual Diſcourſe & was as ill intentioned as ever; that he had tried to animate all the Nations about here, by telling them that there was abſolutely a French Army on the way here, from the Illinois, but that the Commandant there could not come with them untill he had received a Letter from their Father, which he expected every Day. That Seckaho had ſent three young Men on to the Poſt Vincent[69] to meet them & bring him News. 12

This Morning a Puttawattamy came to the Settlement & ſent for Mr. Labute, to whome he told that he was ſent by one of their Chiefs to put his Brother upon his Guard, as the Shawanees & Delawares were come to join Pondiac at the Miamee River, to come and attack this Place, that they were not yet arived, but one of their Chiefs had ſeen ſome Runners that came before to inform they were coming. 14

Mr. Labute was further inform'd by the little Chief of the Chibbaways that Pondiac had much threatened the Ottawa Chiefs who brought in ſome Priſoners a little Time ago & told them that his Father was on his way March & as ſoon as he came he would have them all hang'd that tried to make up a Thing that he (Pondiac) had begun.

The Sloop ſail'd for Niagara. 15

The Schooner Boſton ariv'd in the Mouth of the River from Niagara. 17

This Day at about one o'Clock the Schooner Glad- 19

[69] Now Vincennes, on the Wabaſh in Indiana.

win

1764. Aug. win ſail'd for Niagara. At three o'Clock Mr. Marſack came in and inform'd that he had been told by ſome Indians that ſome of the Hurons of Sanduſky were gone to meet the Army with the Belts that were ſent them by the Six Nations to take up the Hatchet againſt the Engliſh, for that they might at leaſt let the Engliſh fight their own Battles, which they would tell them when they met them & deſire them to return by the ſame Belts that they deſired them to take up the Hatchet. That they were all ready to receive the Engliſh at Lake Sanduſky.

20 This Morning Mr. Campeau came in & inform'd that he had overheard an Ottawa & two Folsavoines ſpeaking about the Army, & the Ottawa aſk'd where they were & which way they were coming; the others told him they were coming on the ſouth Side of the Lake. What to do? ſ'd the Ottawa. To cut off the Hurons at Sanduſky, ſ'd the others. O, ſaid the Ottawa, they are all ready to meet them, the Miamees & all the Puttawattamys are aſſembled there, & they have ſent their Wives & Children back in the Woods, & have prepared their young Corn & Squaſhes on purpoſe that they may keep. That a Chibbaway was ſoon after ſent off as he imagined to go to the Miamee.

Mr. M'Dougal was told this Morning by an Indian that moſt of the Chibbaways & all the Puttawattamys were on the Miamee River with the Ottawas & Miamees, and a good many other Indians.

This Day & laſt Night all the Ottawas & Folsavoines, &c., that came from Michilimackinac this Spring to go to Niagara return'd.

21 This Afternoon the Schooner Boſton ariv'd. Laſt Night Mr. Jadeau came with a Letter informing us that the Schooner Gladwin was aground near Iſle Bois Bland

Bland[70] upon which Mr. Grant was ſent off with ſome Men to get her off. 1764. Aug.

This Night Mr. Colville, one of the Maſters of the Veſſels, came up to get a Grapling and ſome other things for the Schooner Gladwin, as ſhe had loſt her Anchors in getting off.

Commodore Loring left this in the Barge to go on board the Schooner Boſton at the Mouth of the River, for Niagara. 24

This Afternoon the Army ariv'd under the Command of Coll. Broadſtreet.[71] 27

A Party of Men were ſent to cut Timber upon Iſle Cochon for Barracks, &c. 29

All the Inhabitants were ordered to appear at nine next Morning from fifteen Years old upwards to renew their Oaths of Allegiance, which ran in the Terms following.[72]

This Morning the Schooner Victory ſail'd for Niagara, with Coll. Gladwin on board. 31

This Evening the Hurons came to ſee the new Commandant, and after their uſual Compliments gave him the Name of the little Deer.

This Afternoon fifty-five Ottawas, including Women & Children, ariv'd here according to their Promiſe Sept. 2

[70] Iſle Bois Blanc, or White-wood Iſland, lies in Front of Amherſtburgh, on the Canadian Side of the Channel and 18 Miles below Detroit. It is a little over a Mile in length, and to one deſcending it is the laſt Iſland on the left-hand Side before entering Lake Erie.

[71] Col. John Bradſtreet had ſerved with great Reputation in the Wars with France in America. He received a Commiſſion as Colonel in Feb. 1762, and held at this Time the Office of Quarter-Maſter General. In 1772 he was promoted to the Rank of Major-General. He died at New York, Sept. 25, 1774, aged 63 Years. *Maſſ. Hiſt. Coll.; Army Liſts; Dunlop's Hiſt. N. Y.; Parkman's Pontiac.*

[72] A Blank here occurs in the MSS.

made

1764. Sept. made to Coll. Broadſtreet, when he left the Miamee River.

3 This Morning the Ottawas came to Coll. Broadſtreet to give him their Hands & told him they only came to tell him that the Chibbeways & Puttawattamys were to come in next Day & then they would ſpeake for the Whole. But without their ſaying any thing about making Peace, he told them that *if they were as well inclined for it as him* there would be one juſt at the Mouth of the Miſſiſſippi.

5 This Day a Council was held with the Ottawas and Chippawas, the Puttawattamees not having come in.

6 This Day the Puttawattamees ariv'd.

7 This Day the Ottawas, Chippawas, Puttawattamees, Miamees & Hurons ſign'd the Articles of Peace given them by Coll. Broadſtreet, the Contents of which is in the Book of Councils. Yeſterday the Sloop Charlotte, the Schooner Boſton & Schooner Gladwin enter'd the River.

10 This Day the Schooner Victory ariv'd from Niagara.

11 This Morning the Schooner Gladwin ſail'd for Michilimackinac.

13 This Morning Mr. Crofton arived from Niagara in a Batteaux with Deſpatches for Coll. Bradſtreet.

This Afternoon News came by Indians, that the Shawanies & Delawares would not make Peace, & that they had detain'd Mr Paulie & the People with him, & were reſolv'd to defend themſelves.

14 This Morning at 8 o'Clock the Army embark'd to go to Sanduſky.

16 This Morning the Schooner Victory ſet ſail for Sanduſky, where ſhe was to wait Coll. Bradſtreets Orders.

17 This Morning the Sloop ſail'd for Niagara.

This Evening Capt. Morris ariv'd here, having been ſent by Coll. Bradſtreet to try to go to the Illinois, but

but was ſtop'd by the Miamees who were going to burn him. 1764. Sept. 18

This Morning an Expreſs was ſent to overtake Coll. Bradſtreets with Letters from Coll. Cambell & Captain Morris.

The Schooner Victory return'd from Sanduſky for Proviſion; in which came Mr. Cheppoton with Orders from Coll. Bradſtreet. 27

This Morning the Schooner Boſton arived after laying four Days in the River with contrary Winds. Oct. 6

This Morning Minecheſne arived from Coll. Bradſtreet with ſome Indians, who brought Orders for Mr. Cheppaton to ſpare no Expenſe in getting ſome Indians of each Nation to take up the Hatchet againſt the Shawanys & Delawares & for Minecheſne to bring the *little* Chief of the Chippawas in particular. As alſo Orders to Coll. Campbell to ſpeak to the Hurons to ſend as many of their People as poſſible; his Speech & Anſwer to it is in the Book of Councils of this Date. 8

This Morning the Schooner Boſton ſail'd for Fort Erie.

This Morning Mr. Cheppaton left this for Sanduſky with thirteen Indians, who had taken up the Hatchet againſt the Shawanies & Delawares. 11

This Morning Mini Cheſne left this with eight Indians who had taken up the Hatchet againſt the Delawares & Shawanies. 12

This Day we were inform'd by a Man who came from Lake St. Clair that Mr. St. Clair[73] enter'd Lake 16

[73] This was probably James St. Clair who was commiſſioned as a Captain in the 45th Regiment, March 10, 1761. Arthur St. Clair had previouſly been in the Regular Service but was then reſiding in Pennſylvania.

Huron

1764. Oct. Huron the thirteenth with the Schooner Gladwin, & was ſoon out of Sight, the Wind being very good.

This Morning the Sloop Charlotte arived from Fort Erie.

20 This Day the Sloop Charlote ſail'd for Fort Erie, with 121 Packs of Peltry, being the laſt of 1464 Packs that were ſent from this ſince laſt April.

21 This Day ſome Indians with Maiſonville & J. Reaume arived from Sanduſky, who brought Letters informing us that the Army had left that Place the 18th Inſt.

22 This Day André the Huron arived from Sanduſky, who inform'd that he had been ſent out on a Party from Sanduſky with twenty Engliſhmen & nine Indians to cut off a Shawanie Village conſiſting of four Cabans. That the Morning after his firſt Days March, four of his Indians who were of the Six Nations choſe to ſtay awhile behind, and at mid day when he halted he enquired for them, & was told by one of the Engliſhmen who ſtay'd a little while with them that they were return'd to the Camp, upon which he puſh'd on without them. The fourth Day, knowing he was near the Village, he ſent two of his young People on before, who in a ſhort Time return'd & told him they ſaw two Indians coming on Horſeback, who ſoon after arived & told him they knew his Deſign, but that the Village was increaſed to ten Cabans, & if he went on would be cut to Pieces, & moreover that the Shawanies had aſk'd Peace from Coll. Boquet & were gone with all their Priſoners to meet him to the Amount of two hundred, upon which ſeeing they were apriz'd of his Deſign & were going to make Peace he ſent back his Party & took two Indians & proceeded to the Village, where he was inform'd that the four Indians that return'd from the Party inform'd a Huron Chief who had made Peace

Peace with Coll. Bradſtreet, who immediately ſent off an Expreſs on Horſeback to the Village, & that one of the two Indians that met him was the Brother of a Mohawk Chief. That he was ſure in caſe that his Deſign had not been diſcovered, the Indians that were with him would not have fought. That in paſſing by the Head of the Sanduſky River he ſaw a Huron of Sanduſky who told him he was ariv'd from the Frontiers of Virginia where he had been at war with a Party of Shawanies & Delawares, who had taken thirty Scalps, and that if he would not believe him he would give him two, that were pretty freſh to ſhow to his Father the Commandant at this Place, which Scalps he ſaw. 1764. Oct.

This Day the Militia return'd from Michilimackinac. 27

This Day the Schooner Boſton ariv'd at the Mouth of the River after been eighteen Days from Niagara, & the Schooner Victory, who came out with her, they ſuppoſe was drove back. Nov. 3

This Morning Capt. St. Clair arived here from Michilimackinac after laying up the Schooner Gladwin in a ſmall River near the Head of the River Huron. 5

This Evening the Sloop Charlotte, the Schooner Boſton & Schooner Victory arived oppoſite the Fort.

This Morning André & five other Hurons left this on a ſcout againſt the Shawanies & Delawares & were to encamp at the River Rouge for to night. 23

This Afternoon a Soldier was kill'd and ſcalp'd on the Road between the River Rouge & the Fort.

This Morning a Soldier was kill'd & ſcalp'd behind the Fort near the Edge of the Woods. 24

Andrew return'd this Morning & promiſ'd (as he imagined it was Indians from Sanduſky that took the two Scalps) that he would fall upon the firſt Indian he ſaw from the other ſide of Lake Erie.

1764. Nov. 25 This Day we were inform'd that it was ſome St. Joſeph Indians that took the Scalps as they had ſeen them.

26 This Day two Puttawattamies of this Place came in & inform'd that it was the St. Joſeph Indians that took the Scalps at the Inſtigation of a Saky who had been with them near twenty Years, & whoſe Son was kill'd this Time twelve Months at this Place.

This was confirm'd by many Informations from many Indians.

Dec. 14 This Day Machioquiſſe a Chief of the Puttawattamees of this Place arived from St. Joſephs with a Letter from one Chevallier to the Commanding Officer, who inform'd the Commandant that Chevallier told him the King of France had ſent over ſome Merchants, whom he had order'd to ſell Things to the Indians at the following Rate, viz: if the Engliſh ſold a Blanket for four Beaver they were to ſell it for three; if they ſold it for three, they were to ſell it for two, & if the Engliſh ſold it for two they were to ſell it for one, and every thing elſe in Proportion. That there was five Cannoes of that Merchandize already at St. Joſephs, as much at Ouiattanon & a good deal gone to the Shawanies & Delawares.

After a good deal of Diſcourſe with the Commandant about the Scalps that was taken the 23d & 24th of Novem. he aſk'd him in caſe the Murderers could be brought before him to make a proper Submiſſion, wheather he would not forgive them; to which he ſaid if they were brought before him & made proper Submiſſions he would not uſe them as they merited. Upon which Machioquiſſe promiſ'd to go and get ſome Sauteux & uſe all the Means in his Power to bring the Murderers in & with the Engliſh Priſoners that was at St. Joſephs.

January

January 21ſt, 1764 [1765]. 1765. Jan.

This Day Andrew the Huron arived from Fort Pitt, with Letters, for being inform'd that Peace was made with the Shawanies & Delawares, he proceeded to that Place inſtead of ſtriking againſt them as he was directed when he left this. He ſaid the Shawanies & Delawares told him there was three Battoes & two Perriaugres arived at the Mouth of the Oenentois, from the Illinois, & they ſent them a large Belt of Wampum deſireing them to go immediately out of their River. That they had made Peace with their Father the Engliſh, and would not have any more to do with the French.

Andrew the Huron left this for Fort Pitt with Maiſonville. Feb. 27

A ſmall Party from the Miamees took a Priſoner that had ſtraggled from the Veſſel at the River Rouge. Mar. 11

Mr. Jadot was ſent from this to the Miamee to bring one Clermont & his Family & ſome others to this Place, as we had been inform'd they ſpirited up the Indians to ſtrike here, but the Indians met him before he ariv'd there & diſarm'd his Party, and ſent him back. 17

Coll. Campbell ſent them a Meſſage by ſome Chibbawas (who offer'd themſelves as Volunteers) to let them know if they did not give up every Priſoner they had & the Arms they took from Mr. Jadots Party, he would declare them his Enemys ; & the Chibbawas who carried this Meſſage had Orders from their Chief Seccaho, that in caſe they did not comply with this Demand they might look upon them as their Enemies as they wou'd immediately ſtrike againſt them. 15

The Schooner Victory ſail'd for Niagara, in which went Lt. Stewart & Sir Edward Pickering.

This Day the Chibbawas return'd from the Miamee and May 8

1765. May. and brought Word they wou'd ſoon be in with their Priſoners & deſir'd their Father not to be impatient; but by private Intelligence we were inform'd quite otherwiſe.

16 This Day the Sloop Charlot ariv'd from Niagara, in which came Lt. M'Dougal.

17 This Day ſome of the Ottawa Chiefs from the Miamee River came in & deliver'd a Meſſage to the Commandant which they ſ'd they receiv'd from Col° Croghan, inviting them to Fort Pitt, begging he wou'd write to Col° Croghan & tell him in caſe they did not come at the Time appointed that it was becauſe they were emploied in trying to bring in the Miamees to make a proper Submiſſion to ther Father & with their Priſoners.

And deſiring if he their Father choſe they ſhou'd go to the Miamee he wou'd get one or two of the Hurons Chiefs to go with them.

In the Afternoon one a Mohawk who had been ſent laſt Fall by Sir Will^m^ Johnſ^n^ as a Spy among the Indians came in with two Bennakees & inform'd the Commandant, that as their was frequent Reports at Sanduſky that a Body of French & Indians were coming by way of the Miamee, they ſent ſome young Men as far as the Miamee to ſee whether it was true, & as the above mentioned Indians were on their way here they met the Hurons returning from Miamee, who told them that the 9th Inſt. Pondiac's Nephew ariv'd from the Illinois who inform'd them that while Pondiac & the great Saalteur from Michilimackinac was there, ſix Engliſhmen, with one Maiſonville a Frenchman, a Delaware, a Mohawk & a Huron from this Place ariv'd there from Fort Pitt, whom Pondiac cauſed to be ſeized and brought them as far as Ouiattanon, where they were all burnt but two whom he was bringing

bringing to give to the Miamees. That Pondiac had 1765.
ſeven large Belts for to raiſe the St. Joſephs, the Mia- May.
mees, the Ouiattanons, the Pians, Mafcoutons, and the Illinois, who were to aſſemble with ſome Nations to the northward & make what Efforts they could againſt this Place the Beginning of next Month, for which Purpoſe Pondiac had beſides the above Belts a very large one which was for the Hatchet from the French. That this undertaking was to be entirely by the Indians without any Aſſiſtance.

St. Vincent, one of the above Indians further ſays, that being at the Shawanee Town about twenty Days ago, a French Trader from the Illinois told him that he had receiv'd a Letter from Maiſonville when he was going down the Ohio, who inform'd him that he had been ſent by the Commanding Officer at Fort Pitt, to go to the Illinois with ſome Engliſhmen.

Three Chiefs of the Ottawas with ſome young Men 20
left this with a Meſſage from the Commandant to the Miamees and one for Pondiac.

This Morning the Sloop Charlotte ſail'd for Ni- 21
agara.

This Afternoon one of the Chibbawas who were ſent to the Miamee the 15th March, came here & brought back the Belts which the Miamees would not receive & told quite a different Story from what their Chief Seccaho told on the Return of the reſt.

This Day the Indians from St. Joſephs came to the 24
Settlement with a Priſoner, & a Belt from their Chiefs, but the Commanding Officer wou'd not receive them as there was no Chief with, and as they had not fulfil'd their Promiſe.

The Priſoner they ſent in by two Puttawattamy Chiefs of this Place with the Belt, which the Commandant receiv'd & ſent them Word, when their Chiefs fulfill'd

1765. May. fulfill'd their Promiſe he wou'd receive them as his Children, but not till then. This Priſoner was gave to them by the Shawanies & Delawares two Years ago, whom we new nothing of, being one more than they ſ'd they had.

25 This Day the Huron Chiefs with two Onondagoes came in & told the Commandant that they came to ſpeake to him upon the ſame Subject they had done the 17th Inſtant, ſaying they had ſince been inform'd by ſome people from towards the Illinois that they were in Danger, that the Indians the laſt Time had only taken up the Hatchet againſt the Engliſh, but that now they would take it up againſt the French & them, as they liv'd near the Engliſh and lik'd them; & that they ſhould periſh with them. They then deſir'd they might give the Commandant a little Advice, which if found good he wou'd have Pitty upon them & do.

They then ſ'd that as the Indians depended entirely upon what they could get or take from the Inhabitants for Subſiſtance, they thought it adviſable that they ſhould joine in ſmall Partys & gather together their Corn & Cattle & make at different Places ſmall Stockades where eight or ten Families might ſecure themſelves in, with their Effects; that in propoſing this to them the Commandant would ſee whether they were inclin'd to be faithfull or not, for if they objected againſt it, they were certainly inclin'd to fight, as the Indians would render themſelves Maſters of them & would oblig'd them to do what they pleaſ'd & ſtrip them of every thing, in caſe they remain'd in the undefenſible Condition they were then. They beg'd the Commandant would deſire the Inhabitants on the South Side of the River to join with them to make a Stockade at the Huron Point near the Prieſts Houſe, that they

they might put their Wifes & Children in for Security, for notwitſtanding they were a ſmall Number they would then Laugh at any thing the other Nations cou'd do, but if they were to remain they would be in their Power & perhaps be oblig'd to do thing they had not Inclination to do, for ſaid they, what will not a Man do to ſave his Life, & when we ſee a Knife at our Throats we ſhall perhaps commit Faults, for theſe and many other Reaſons they beg'd the Commandant wou'd propoſe to the People to put themſelves in ſome kind of Defence. They further ſaid they new the Inhabitants would be very angry at them if they new they propoſ'd ſuch a thing, but they new on their Side that if they did not comply with it they wou'd ſoon repent it, and perhaps wou'd be very glad to take Refuge in their little Fort, in caſe they got one built. They ſaid there was no Time to looſe, the ſooner it was done the better. 1765. May.

In the Afternoon the Commandant ſent for the Officers of the Militia, and acquainted them of the News he had heard & propoſed to them to put themſelves in the beſt ſtate of Defence they cou'd, agreeable to which he gave them ſome Propoſals in Writing, a Copy of which is amongſt the Orders iſſued to the Militia.

This Day the Schooner Victory ariv'd, having been ſent from Niagara with Capt. Simpſon of the Artillery to take up the Cannon left by Col^{o} Bradſtreet laſt Fall near the River au Roche, but was oblig'd to put in here for Want of Proviſion, having had a great deal of bad Weather & not being able to go to the Place. The Veſſell in very bad Condition. 26

The Schooner Victory. June 6

[The Diary thus ends abruptly in the Middle of a Page in the Manuſcript.]

JOURNAL

OF THE

SIEGE OF DETROIT,

BY

Major ROBERT ROGERS.

INTRODUCTION.

MAJOR Rogers arrived at Detroit on the 29th of July, 1763, with the Detachment under the Command of Capt. Dalyel, and ſhared in the gallant but unfortunate Sortie made under the Command of that Officer a few Days after, in which the Leader and many of his Men periſhed. The Information contained in the following Narrative is entirely from hearſay, and only brings down the Chain of Events to the 4th of July, although dated nearly a Month later. It is probable that Maj. Rogers began to write an Account of the Siege ſoon after his Arrival, and that this was only partly finiſhed when the ſailing of two Veſſels (mentioned on Page 59) offered a convenient Opportunity for ſending it to Sir William Johnſon. At the Cloſe of the Volume of Journals publiſhed by Major Rogers in 1765, is an Advertiſement of a ſecond Volume to contain, among other Things, an Account of the

the Indian Wars in America ſubſeqent to 1760. Subſcriptions were ſolicited and the Book was promiſed within a limited Time, but from ſome Cauſe unknown, it was never printed. It is reaſonable to infer that the following Pages were intended to form a Portion of the Book, and that this Fragment, now firſt printed, may be the only Part that has been preſerved. It was found among the Manuſcripts of Sir William Johnſon in the New York State Library.

F. B. H.

JOURNAL

OF THE

SIEGE OF DETROIT.

A JOURNAL of the Siege of Detroit, taken from the Officers who were then in the Fort, and wrote in their Words in the following Manner, viz:

The 6th of May; when we were privately informed of a Conſpiracy formed againſt us by the Indians, particularly the Tawa[1] Nation, who were to come to council with us the next Day, and maſſacre every Soul of us. On the Morning of that Day, being Saturday the 7th of May, fifteen of their Warriors came into the Fort and ſeemed very inquiſitive and anxious to know where all the Engliſh Merchants' Shops were.

At 9 o'Clock the Garriſon were ordered under Arms and the Savages continued coming into the Fort till 11 o'Clock, diminiſhing their Numbers as much as poſſible by dividing themſelves at all the Corners of

[1] Ottawa.

the

the ſtreets moſt adjacent to the Shops. Before 12 o'Clock they were three hundred Men, at leaſt three times the Number equal to that of the Garriſon; but ſeeing all the Troops under Arms, and the Merchants Shops ſhut, imagined prevented them from attempting to put their evil Scheme into execution that Day.

Obſerving us thus prepared, their Chiefs came in a very condemned like Manner, to Council, where they ſpoke a great deal of Nonſenſe to Major Gladwine and Capt. Campbell, proteſting at the ſame Time the greateſt Friendſhip imaginable to them, but expreſſing their Surpriſe at ſeeing all the Officers and Men under Arms. The Major then told them that he had certain Intelligence that ſome Indians were projecting Miſchief, and on that Acc^{t} he was determined to have the Troops always under Arms upon ſuch Occaſions: That they being the oldeſt Nation, and the firſt that had come to Council, needed not to be aſtoniſhed at that Precaution as he was reſolved to do the ſame to all Nations.

At 2 o'Clock they had done ſpeaking, went off ſeemingly very diſcontented and croſſed the River half a League from the Fort, where they all encamped about 6 o'Clock that Afternoon. Six of their Warriors returned and brought an old Squaw Priſoner, alledging that ſhe had given us falſe Information againſt them. The Major declared ſhe had never given any kind of Advice. They then inſiſted upon naming the Author of what he had heard in regard to the Indians, which he declined to do, but told them it was one of themſelves, whoſe Name he promiſed never to reveal; whereupon they went off and carried the old Woman Priſoner with them. When they arrived at their Camp, Pondiac their greateſt Chief ſeized on the Priſoner and gave her three Strokes with a Stick on the Head, which

which laid her flat on the Ground, and the whole Nation aſſembled around her and called repeated Times kill her, kill her.

Sunday the 8th, Pondiac and ſeveral other of the principal Chiefs came into the Fort, at 5 o'Clock in the Afternoon and brought a Pipe of Peace with them of which they wanted to convince us fully of their Friendſhip and Sincerity, but the Major judging that they only wanted to caggole us would not go nigh them nor give them any Countenance, which obliged Capt. Campbell to go and ſpeake with them, and after ſmoaking with the Pipe of Peace and aſſuring him of their Fidelity, they ſaid that the next Morning all the Nation would come to Council where every thing would be ſettled to our Satisfaction, after which they would immediately diſperſe, and that that would remove all kind of Suſpicion.

Accordingly on Monday Morning the 9th, ſix of their Warriors came into the Fort at 7 o'Clock, and upon ſeeing the Garriſon under Arms went off without being obſerved. About 10 o'Clock we counted fifty-ſix Canoes, with ſeven and eight Men in each, croſſing the River from their Camp, and when they arrived nigh the Fort, the Gates were ſhut, and the Interpreter went to tell them that not above fifty or ſixty Chiefs would be admitted into the Fort, upon which Pondiac immediately deſired the Interpreter in a peremptory Manner to return directly and acquaint us that if all their People had not free Acceſs into the Fort none of them would enter it: that we might ſtay in our Fort, but he would keep the Country, adding that he would order a Party inſtantly to an Iſland where we had twenty-four Bullocks, which they immediately killed. Unluckily three Soldiers were on the Iſland and a poor Man with his Wife and four Children

which

which they all murthered except two Children, as alſo a poor Woman and her two Sons, that lived about half a Mile from the Fort.

After having thus put all the Engliſh without the Fort to death, the ordered a Frenchman who had ſeen the Woman and her two Children killed and ſcalped, to come and inform us of it, and likewiſe of their having murthered Sir Robert Davers, Captain Robertſon and a Boats' Crew of ſix Perſons two Days before, being Saturday the 7th of May, near the Entrance of Lake Huron, for which Place they ſet out from hence on Monday the 2d Inſt. in order to know if the Lakes and Rivers were Navigable for a Schooner which lay here to proceed to Michilimackinac. We were then fully perſuaded that the Information given us was well founded, and a proper Diſpoſition was made for the Defenſe of the Fort, although our Number was but ſmall, not exceeding one hundred and twenty, including all the Engliſh Traders, and the Works were nigh Mile in Circumferance.

On Tuesday the 10th, very early in the Morning, the Savages began to fire on the Fort, and Veſſels which lay oppoſite to the eaſt and weſt Sides of the Fort.[2] About 8 o'Clock the Indians called a Parley and ceaſed firing, and half an Hour after, the Waindotes Chiefs came into the Fort, on their way to a Council where they were called by the Tawas and promiſed us to endeavour to ſoliciate and perſuade the Tawas from committing further Hoſtilities. After drinking a Glaſs of Rum they went off at three o'Clock that Afternoon. Several of the Inhabitants and four Chiefs of the Tawas, Waindotes and Chippawas and Pottawattomes came and acquainted us, that moſt of

[2] The Channel of Detroit River oppoſite the Fort, ran but a few Degrees South of Weſt, although its general Courſe is nearly South.

all

all the Inhabitants were aſſembled at a Frenchmans Houſe about a Mile from the Fort, where the Savages propoſed to hold a Council, and deſiring Captain Campbell and another Officer to go with them to that Council, where they hoped with their Preſence and Aſſiſtance further Hoſtilities would ceaſe, aſſuring us at the ſame Time that come what would, that Capt. Campbell and the other Officers that went with him, ſhould return whenever they pleaſed. This Promiſe was aſſertained by the French as well as the Indian Chief, whereupon Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougal went off eſcorted by a Number of the Inhabitants and the four Chiefs, they firſt promiſed to be anſwerable for their returning y^{t} Night.

When they arrived at the Houſe already mentioned they found the French and Indians aſſembled, and after counceling a long while, the Waindotes were prevailed on to ſing the War Song, and this being done, it was next reſolved that Captain Campbell and Lieutenant McDougall ſhould be detained Priſoners, but would be indulged to lodge in a French Houſe till a French Commandant arrived from the Ilenoes, that next Day five Indians and as many Canadians would be diſpatched to acquaint the Commanding Officer of the Ilonies that Detroit was in their Poſſeſſion and require of him to ſend an Officer to Command, to whom Captain Cample and Lieutenant McDougall ſhould be delivered. As for Major Gladwin he was ſummoned to give up the Fort and two Veſſels, &c., the Troops to ground their Arms, and they would allow as many Battoes and as much Proviſion as they judged requiſite for us to go to Niagara: That if theſe Propoſals were not accepted of, they were a thouſand Men, and ſtorm the Fort at all events, and in that Caſe every Soul of us ſhould be put to the Torture. The Major returned for Anſwer,

that as ſoon as the two Officers they had detained were permitted to come into the Fort, he would after conſulting them give a poſitive Anſwer to their Demand, but could do nothing without obtaining their Opinion.

On Wedneſday the 11th, ſeveral Inhabitants came early in the Morning into the Fort, and adviſed us by way of Friendſhip to make our Eſcape aboard the Veſſels, aſſuring us that we had no other Method by which we could preſerve our Lives, as the Indians were then fifteen hundred fighting Men, and would be as many more in a few Days, and that they were fully determined to attack us in an Hours time. We told the Monſ'rs that we were ready to receive them, and that every Officer and Soldier in the Fort would willingly periſh in the Defenſe of it, rather than condeſcend or agree to any Terms that Savages would propoſe. Upon which the French went off as I ſuppoſe to communicate what we had ſaid to their Allies, and in a little afterwards the Indians gave their uſual Hoop, and five or ſix hundred began to attack the Fort on all Quarters. Indeed ſome of them behaved extremely well and advanced very boldly in an open plain expoſed to our Fire, and came within ſixty Yards of the Fort, but upon having three Men killed and above a dozen wounded, they retired as briſkly as they advanced, and fired at three hundred Yards Diſtance till ſeven o'Clock at Night, when they ſent a Frenchman into the Fort with a Letter to the Major, deſiring a ceſſation of Arms, that Night, and propoſing to let the Troops with their Arms aboard the Veſſels, but inſiſting upon our giving up the Fort, leaving the French Auxilliary all the Merchandize and officers Effects, and had even the Inſolence to demand a Negro Boy belonging to a Merchant to be delivered to Pondiack.

The

The Major's Reply to theſe extraordinary Propoſitions was much the ſame as to the firſt.

Tueſday the 12th, five Frenchmen and as many Indians were ſent off for the Ilinoes with Letters wrote by a Canadian agreable to Pondiacs Deſire. On the 13th we were informed by the Inhabitants that Mr. Chapman, a Trader from Niagara, was taken Priſoner by the Waindotes, with five Battoes loaded with Goods.

The 21ſt, one of the Veſſels was ordered to ſail for the Niagara, but to remain till the ſixth of June at the Mouth of the River in order to advert the Battoes which we expected daily from Niagara.

Upon the 22d we were told that Enſign Paully who commanded at Sanduſky was brought Priſoner by ten Tawas, who reported that they had prevailed after long Conſultation with the Waindotes who lived at Sanduſky to declare War againſt us; that ſome Days ago they came early of a Morning to the Block Houſe, and murthered every Soul therein, conſiſting of twenty ſeven Perſons, Traders included; that Meſſ^rs^ Callender and Prentice, formerly Captains in the Pennſylvania Reg^t^ were amongſt that Number, and that they had taken one hundred Horſes loaded with Indian Goods, which with the Plunder of the Garriſon was agreed to be given the Waindotes before they condeſcended to join them; that all they wanted was the Commanding Officer.

On the 29th of May, we had the Mortification to ſee eight of our Battoes in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy, paſſing on the oppoſite Shore, with ſeveral Soldiers Priſoners in them. When the foremoſt Battoe came oppoſite the Sloop, ſhe fired a Gun, and the Soldiers aboard called at thoſe in the Battoe, that if they paſſed the Savages would kill them all, upon which they immediately

mediately ſeized on two Indians and threw them overboard with him and tomahawked him directly, they being near the Shore and it quite ſhoal. Another Soldier laid hold of an Oar, and ſtruck that Indian upon the Head, of which Wound he is ſince dead. Then there remained only three Soldiers, of which two were wounded, and although fifty Indians were on the Bank not ſixty Yards, firing upon them, the three Soldiers eſcaped aboard the Veſſel, with the Battoe loaded with eight Barrels of Proviſions and gives the following Account of their Miſfortune, viz:

That two Nights before, about 10 o'Clock, they arrived about ſix Leagues from the Mouth of the River where they encamped. That two Men went a little from the Camp for Firewood to boil their Kettle, when one of the two was ſeized on by an Indian, killed and ſcalped in an Inſtant. The other Soldier ran directly and alarmed the Camp, upon which Lieutenant Cuyler immediately ordered to give Ammunition to the Detachment, which conſiſted of one Serjeant and ſeventeen Soldiers of the Royal Americans, three Serjeants and ſeventy-two Rank and File of the Queen's Independent Company of Rangers. After having delivered their Ammunition, and a Diſpoſition made of the Men, the Enemy came cloſe to them without being obſerved, behind a Bank and fired very ſmartly on one Flank which could not ſuſtain the Enemys Fire and they retired precipitately and threw the Whole in Confuſion. By that Means the Soldiers embarked aboard the Battoes with one, two and three Oars in each Battoe, which gave an Opportunity to the Savages of taking them all except the two Battoes that eſcaped with Mr. Cuyler to Niagara.

Sunday the 5th of June, we were acquainted that Fort Maimes was taken, that Enſign Holms who commanded

commanded there had been informed by two Frenchmen who arrived there the preceding Day of Detroits being attacked by the Indians, which he would hardly believe, but threatened to impriſon the French for that Report, that an Indian Woman had betrayed him out of the Fort by pretending that another Woman was very ſick, and begged of him to come to her Cabin to let blood of her, and when he had gone a little Diſtance from the Fort was fired on and killed. The Serjeant hearing the Report of the firing ran to ſee what it was, and was immediately taken Priſoner. The Soldiers ſhut the Gates and would have probably defended the Fort if one Walſh, a Trader who had been taken Priſoner a few Days before, had not adviſed them to open the Gates, alledging that if they did not comply the Indians would ſet Fire to the Fort and put them to death; whereas, if they opened the Gates, they ſhould be well treated. Whereupon the Gates were opened, and the Soldiers grounded their Arms.

On the 10th of June we heard that Enſign Schloſſer the Commanding Officer at Saint Joſephs was taken Priſoner and that all the Garriſon (except three Men) were maſſacred. That the Indians came on the 25th of May with a Pretence to Council, and as ſoon as the Chiefs had ſhaken Hands with Mr. Schloſſer, they ſeized on him, gave a Shriek and inſtantly killed ten Men.

The 12th we were told that Lieut. Jenkins and all the Garriſon of Owat'anon, conſiſting of a Sergeant and eighteen Men were taken Priſoners and carried to the Ilonies.

The 18th a Jeſuit arrived from Michillimakenac and brought a Letter from Captain Etherinton and Lieutenant Leſſley, with an Account of their being taken Priſoners. That Lieutenant Jamęt and twenty-one

one Soldiers. That on the 2nd the Indians were playing Ball as uſual nigh the Fort, where Captain Etherington and Lieut. Leſſley happened to be looking at them, but were ſuddenly ſeized on and carried into the Woods. At the ſame Time the Savages had purpoſely thrown their Ball into the Fort, as if that had happened by Accident, and followed it directly into the Fort, where a Number of their Women had Tomahawks and Spears concealed under their Blankets, which they delivered them and put the whole Garriſon to death, except thirteen Men.

The 30th we were informed that the Blockhouſe at Preſque Iſle was burned, that Enſign Chriſtie and all his Garriſon, which conſiſted of twenty-nine Men were taken Priſoners except ſix Men, who it was believed made their eſcape to La Beuf.

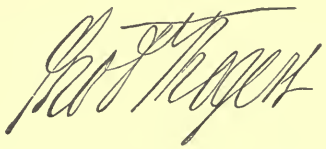
On the Night of the 2d Inſtant and Lieut. McDougall were lodged at the Houſe I have already mentioned, about two Miles from the Fort, and made a Reſolution to Eſcape, when it was agreed on between them that McDougall ſhould ſet off firſt, which he did and get ſafe into the Fort, but you know it was much more dangerous for Captain Campbell than for any other Perſon by Reaſon that he could neither run nor ſee, and being ſenſible of that failing I am ſure prevented him from attempting to eſcape.

The 4th a Detachment was ordered to deſtroy ſome Breaſtworks and Entrenchments the Indians had made a Quarter of a Mile from the Fort, and about twenty Indians came to attack that Party, which they engaged but were drove off in an Inſtant with the Loſs of one Man killed (and two wounded) which our People ſcalped and cut to Pieces. Half an Hour after the Savages carried the Man they had loſt before Captain Campbell, ſtriped him naked, and directly murthered him

him in a cruel Manner, which indeed gives one Pain beyond Expreſſion, and I am ſure cannot miſs but to affect ſenſibly all his Acquaintences, although he is now out of the Queſtion.

The Indians likewiſe reported that Venango and Le Beuf is taken by the Savages.

Dated at Detroit 8th Aug^{t} 1763.



To Sir William Johnſon.

GEN. BRADSTREET'S

STATEMENT

UPON

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following Statement upon Indian Affairs is preſerved in the Hand-writing of General John Bradſtreet, in a Volume belonging to the New York State Library, entitled *Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS.*, beginning at Page 190. Theſe Papers were found many Years ſince in the Garret of a Houſe in Albany which Gen. Bradſtreet once inhabited, and are of unqueſtionable authenticity.

During the Indian Wars which followed the Conqueſt of Canada in 1760, General B. held the Rank of Quarter-Maſter General, and his Opportunities for judging of the Merits or Defects of the Syſtem under which Indian Affairs were managed entitle his Opinions to Reſpect. The Difficulties attending this Service are clearly and forcibly ſtated, and the Remedies which he ſuggeſts were dictated by ſound Judgment and enforced by ſtrong Argument.

F. B. H.

GEN. BRADSTREET'S

STATEMENT.

DECEMBER 17, 1764.

A BRIEF State of our interiour Situation with the Savages, the Diſadvantages occaſioned by the Indian Traders following them to their Hunting Country, Caſtles and Villages; the Benefit to all his Majeſty's Subjects by confining the Trade to particular Poſts and the Danger of fixing thoſe Poſts nearer the Colonys of New York and Quebec then St. Marys, Michilimicanac, La Bay, & the Detroit, &c., &c.

The Savages retain their Affection for the French Nation as much as ever, and have nothing more at Heart than their Return and Power in this Country, & are ready

ready to execute any thing in their Power to anſwer that Purpoſe, and deteſt the Engliſh ſo much, that the Traders can not quit the eſtabliſhed Poſts to go & Trade with them (as Canadians do, who run no riſk, but on the contrary are well receiv'd) without being murder'd and plunder'd; and Experience alſo ſhews when they employ Canadians to carry on the Trade for them they are cheated and ruin'd; which muſt in a ſhort Time put all the Indian Trade in the Hands of the Canadians in Conjunction with the French & Spaniards from the Miſſiſſippi & the Settlements of the Illinois, who at this Time carry of great Part of the Trade between the Miſſiſſippi & the great Lakes & the Ohio. To remedy theſe Evils and recover the Trade which is much impair'd, the Savages debauch'd, become Idle and neglect their Hunting by ſpirituous Liquors being conſtantly carried to their Hunting Countrys and to fix the Trade with equil Advantage to all his Majeſtys Subjects, it is imagin'd it ſhould be limited to particular Poſts & upon no Account allow any Traders to follow the Savages to their Hunting Country, Caſtles or Villages, as it moreover gives their Boat men & ſome of themſelves a Taſt for a wandering & independent Life, infects them with a Habit of Libertiniſm & many of theſe Sort of Canadians remain amongſt the Savages now; from whom they are not diſtinguiſhable but by their Vices & inciting them on to Acts of Cruelty againſt the Engliſh; and was their nothing to fear from the Entregues of foreign Enemies the nearer the Poſts were fix'd to the Colonys of New York & Quebec to more Advantage would the Trade be carry'd on, as the Savages would then become the principal Carriers themſelves, which is a very expenſive Article. But the Diſadvantage of confining the Trade to Poſts nearer the Colonys then St. Marys, Michilimicanac

micanac, La Bay and Detroit would be, the Savages of the northweſt Side Lake Superior would find it leſs troubleſome to Trade with the Hudſons Bay Company then to go to thoſe Poſts, and thoſe of La Bay, the weſt Side Lake Superior & Lake Michigan would find it alſo leſs difficult to go to the Miſſiſſippi ſhould the French & Spaniſh Traders not go to them as they actually do now and they would alſo ſoon find the way into Lake Superior with their Merchandiſe—and ſo long as thoſe Traders come to the Savages on the Banks of the Wabaſh and Scioto Rivers, by the Miſſiſſippi and Ohio, our Traders at the Detroit & Fort Pitt will benefit but little from them, thoſe of St. Joſephs & Miames, which makes a conſiderable Number of Hunters—and to theſe Evils we may add a greater, namely, was the Trade confin'd to Poſts as low as Niagara, the certain Conſequence would be, that all the Furr Trade & Savages would fall into the Hands of the French and Spaniards & it effected ſoon by Means of the French Inhabitants of Detroit, Wabach, St. Joſeph & Michilimicanac & thoſe Vagabonds or Coureurs de Bois of Canada diſperſ'd amongſt them, who when left to themſelves and able to act openly & without Fear will not fail their old Maſters; the dreadful Conſequence of which would ſoon be ſeverely felt by the Inhabitants of the Frontiers of ſeveral Colonys.

From repeated Information it can admit of no Doubt but that the French by the Miſſiſſippi are uſing their beſt Endeavours to bring all the Savages to conſider the Spaniards in the ſame favourable light to them as the French themſelves; we muſt therefore looſe Ground every Day with the Indians if we remain idle Spectators of it; it would be of great Uſe in helping to prevent it as well as that of a general Confederacy of them againſt us when attempted were we to divide them

them by fomenting the Quarrils generally ſubſiſting amongſt them inſtead of making them up & turn them to our own Uſe & Advantage & prevent as much as poſſible the Intercourſe of the Savages of diffirent Diſtricts, that is, thoſe of the north weſt Side Lake Superior to come down no farther than St. Mary's & Michilimicanac; thoſe of La Bay, weſt Side Lake Superior & Lake Michigan to the Poſts of La Bay; thoſe of St. Joſephs, Miames, Wabach & Scioto Rivers to the Detroit & Fort Pitt, & the Six Nations (if poſſible) to be kept from them all at the Poſts of Neagara & Oſwego, as the Meetings of different Nations of Indians have too often ended in making up their old Quarrils & ploting againſt us—and to ſucceed in this important Buſineſs, Men of Adreſs with a perfect Knowledge of the Polocy & Craft of the Savages ſhould be employ'd.

The Number of Boats employ'd in the Indian Trade annually from this Province amounts to about 180 whoſe Cargoes one with the other is in Value 300 £, at the New York Prices; which makes for the whole about 100,000 £; out of which a large Deduction is to be made from the Proffits of the Trader for Tranſportation & other Expenſes as may be conceiv'd by the Expence of one Boat to Detroit:

3 Boatmen to Detroit, - -	£60
Battoe, Oars, &c., - - -	9
Carriage over the little Falls and Fort Stanwix,	1.12
Do. Neagara, - - -	11. 8
	£82

and to Michilimicana it amounts to 112 £, about; and innormous as this Expenſe is it bears no Proportion to that of following the Savages to their Hunting Country

Country during the Winter; which the Engliſh Merchants of Canada are no Strangers to—and to this follows the Expence of Proviſions, which is always very ſcarce & dear at the Poſts. At Michilimicanac Pork ſold this Summer for two Shillings and ſixpence, Bread four Shillings & Butter ſix Shillings the Pound, and at Detroit 5 £ a hundred weight, and this ſcarcity of Proviſions and expenſive Tranſportation will continue ſo long as the Detroit remains not properly ſettled; the Encroachments of the French and Spaniards not prevented; the Frontiers of ſeveral Colony's not ſecure from the Attacks of the Savages, nor we have the full Advantage of the Fur Trade but by Detroit being made a ſtrong Barrier to the Colonys & that Settlement encouraged or the whole of the Miſſiſſippi in our Hands; which laſt will bring all the Savages dependent on us for what they want; for who ever imagines the Savages of the interior Country will remain in Peace and Friendſhip with us whilſt the French & Spaniards poſſeſs the Miſſiſſippi will find himſelf miſtaken'd—indeed the former has not been found perminent though very expenſive—and the large Sum lately given at the Congreſs at Fort Stanwix will operate on the Six Nations & their Friends only. From what has been ſaid of the Expence in carrying on this Trade, it appears the Method now practiſ'd is better calculated to enrich the Battoe & Canoe Men than the Merchants and is one of the Cauſes ſo many fail; the regulating this, with Juſtice to both, ſeems to be abſolutely neceſſary; but the more Veſſells are employed in this Trade to more Advantage will it be carry'd on as it may be done for half the now Expence & always with Safety againſt the evil Deſigns of any Savages.

Detroit is here mentioned as being the moſt proper Place for an Eſtabliſhment & Barrier for the Reaſon

that its Situation being moſt proper & convenient to raiſe Proviſions, awe and attack ſuch Savages as are moſt likely to be troubleſome firſt, to them divide and keep them ſo, to take up the French and Spaniſh Traders that may come on our Side the Miſſiſſippi, for it is to little Purpoſe to ſend Troops to attack Savages and take up People protected by them from ſo great Diſtance as the Colonys are, to return in a few Months or to depend on ſmall Garriſons, be they ever ſo well poſted, it being out of their Power to do more than give Protection to ſuch as are within their Works; and it is as bad Policy to ſuffer the Encroachments above mention'd & the Savages to inſult & murder without further Notice than giving them large Sums of Money in Preſents to make Peace for a few Years, for which they have always held us in Contempt & thereby encouraged to commit frequent Depredations upon us to exact Preſents from Time to Time to make it up. As the Soil of the Detroit is as good as can be & plenty of it ready for the Plow, Proviſions would ſoon be plenty & cheap there & the Navigation of the Lakes carry'd on by the Inhabitants of that Place in Veſſels at as little Expence as in this Province, which would be of great advantage to the Trade, ſecurity to the Poſts as well as leſſning their Expence—and without Veſſels neither one nor the other can be ſaid to be ſafe & ſecure from falling into the Hands of the Savages.

Should the Trade be limited to particular Poſts it would be of advantage to eſtabliſh the Prices of the Merchandiſe & Furrs with equal Advantage to both Sides & to prevent Impoſitions too frequently practiced by the Traders; and perhaps the way of doing it leſs exceptionable to the Traders & Savages would be by two Provincional Commiſſarys of Abilities and Experience from the Colony of New York & Quebec with the Indian Chiefs

Chiefs in Preſence of the Officer commanding Poſts and thoſe Commiſſary to reſide at the Poſts, inſpect the Trade & report from Time [to Time] every thing neceſſary and ſhould it appear reaſonable the Traders and Savages pay a Proportion towards the general Security of the Interior Country, the following Dutys may be laid by every Province connected in the Trade, viz :

On Speritious Liquors 2*s*6*d* ſterling a Gallon.
Powder, 6*d* do a Pound.
Strouds, 8*s* do a Piece.
Blankets, 1*s* do each.
Shirts, 1*s* do each.
Silver Trinkets 5 p C^{t} on firſt Coſt,

which may amount to ſix or ſeven thouſand Pounds ſterling per annum on this Province only.

Some Court of Juſtice is abſolutely neceſſary to bring Offenders to Juſtice, oblige People to pay their Debts and keep good Order, it being impoſſible thoſe Ends can be anſwered by Provincial Laws ſo diſtant as the Colonys are, did their Power extend ſo far.

It is ſubmitted, if the Deſigns of our Ennemies to draw the Savages in general on us would not be more eaſily prevented & with far leſs Expence if undertaken before any of them commence Hoſtilitys againſt us, than it can be afterwards, and if any thing can be more effectual to anſwer this Purpoſe than the Savages ſeeing ſoon at the Detroit a reſpectable Force fix'd, the Poſts above mentioned properly eſtabliſhed, themſelves diſunited & proper Meaſures taking there to raiſe ſufficient Proviſions for the full Supply of the Interior Country. They know if the Poſts are ſupplied with Proviſions from the Colonys below in Boats only they have it always in their Power to cut off the Supply & even the Retreat of thoſe Garriſons, and on it they chiefly

chiefly depend for Succeſs in taking them and driving the Engliſh out of the interior Country. How fatal a ſudden & well tim'd Savage Eruption would prove to the Engliſh Indian Traders & Frontier Inhabitants of ſeveral Colonys melancholly Experience has made it too well known to need being mentioned here, and if the interior Country is to remain in its preſent defenceleſs State all Laws & Regulations for the Benefit of the Trade will be of no avail.

It would be prudent to oblige all the French & Canadian People to remove from the Wabach, St. Joſephs, Michilimicanac & otherwiſe diſperſ'd amongſt the Savages to the Settlement of Detroit to put an End to the Tricks they play to our Diſadvantage.

The Nations or Tribes of Savages ſurrounding the great Lakes that have any Knowledge of the Engliſh are at this Time in a Diſpoſition to live well with them, reſpect them and beg for Trade & Veſſels in every Lake, hoping thereby that Goods will be cheaper than it can be without them. They ſtill love the French to a great Degree and the French by the Miſſiſſippi and from the Illinois keep it up by extending Trade to all Nations they can and ſending Emiſſarys to propagate ſuch Tales as turn moſt to their Advantage & Prejudice to the Engliſh. Theſe Savages are numerous, proud, delight in & practice War from a political View, knowing that ſuch as neglect keeping up that Spirit muſt degenerate into Effeminacy & become the Prey of ſuch as do not. To inſure a laſting Peace, gain their Affections & wean them from the French, ſtrict Juſtice, Moderation, fair Trade, with keeping them from frequent Intercourſe with each other, & a reſpectable Force at Detroit is the way to obtain it, unleſs their whole dependence for the Neceſſaries of Life depended upon the Engliſh, which will never be the

the caſe as long as the French can come up the Miſſiſſippi in Safety, Land & extend their Trade on our Side with Impunity, the preventing of which will in the Execution be found difficult as the Intereſt of the Savages is to ſcreen & protect them, & it is ſaid to be carried on by the French Eaſt India Company.

It is abſolutely neceſſary to make Choice for the eſtabliſhing Poſts for the Security of Trade, of ſuch Places as may be moſt convenient for the Inhabitants of each Lake to carry on their Trade with eaſe to themſelves, by which & their natural Lazineſs will ſeldom go to their Neighbors & without it they will be diſcontented.

At theſe Poſts Men of Senſe, Modiration & Spirit ſhould Command, & each Detachment for the ſmall ones ſhould not be leſs than one hundred good Men. Neagara & Detroit ſhould be more reſpectable, the former can not do with leſs than three Poſts upon the Communication of fifty Men each and the latter muſt have as many to make good the Navigation to Lake Huron, the Straits being too difficult for Veſſells, ſo that Boats muſt be employ'd for that Service and the Officer commanding at Detroit ſhould always have it in his Power to detach from his Garriſon three hundred good Men beſides Militia to chaſtiſe any Nation or Band of Savages the Inſtant they deſerve it, as the taking immediate Satiſfaction will make them reſpect and fear us and prevent a general War, ſo that Neagara can not diſpenſe with leſs than one Battalion on the preſent Eſtabliſhment & Detroit near two Battailons.

The Poſts neceſſary for Lake Ontario are already fix'd except Frontinac inſtead of Fort Wm. Auguſtus,[1] the latter being uſeleſs, the Navigation to it dangerous

[1] About three Miles below the Mouth of the Oſwegatchie. See Note 57, Page 58.

and

and attended with great delays, and the former an excellent Harbour and from it ſoon into the Lake.

For Lake Erie Detroit is ſufficient.

For Lake Huron Detroit and Michilimicanac.

For Lake Michigan Michilimicanac, the Bay & St. Joſephs.

For Lake Superior, Falls of St. Marys with two other Poſts at the moſt convenient Places, the Inhabitants being in that Quarter numerous, particularly in the weſtward of it.

Theſe Poſts of Michilimicanac, the Bay, St. Joſephs, the Falls of St. Marys with the two other Poſts upon the Banks of Lake Superior will take one Battailon, which makes four from Neagara weſtward.

All Poſts upon the Banks of the Lakes from Neagara upwards to be under the control of the Officer commanding at Detroit and ſhould Government judge it improper to eſtabliſh a Civil Government there and not encourage the Colony, ſtill ſome Court of Juſtice is neceſſ'ry to the end Offenders, Inhabitants, Indians, Indian Traders and others might be brought to Juſtice & puniſh'd by a Law that might prevent litigious Suits & ſatisfy the Savages the ſtricteſt Juſtice is done them at all Times.

The Savages have a contemptible Opinion of all Indian Traders, it is therefore neceſſary the Officer commanding at the Poſts ſhould not Trade but inſpect into the Trade, prevent Abuſe and bring Offenders to that Juſtice the Law may require; by this they will be reſpected & belov'd by the Savages & have it in their Power to be of great Uſe when the Aſſiſtance of the latter may be wanted againſt his Majeſtys Enemies.

The Officers at all Poſts which the Savages frequent ſhould be enabled to treat Particulars, ſuch as Chiefs and well affected with a little Rum, ſome Pipes & Tobacco

Tobacco, with Proviſions in caſes of Neceſſity; they have been accuſtomed to much more by the French & expect it from us, the Expence is a trifle but the Want of that may be attended with bad Conſequences; for Neagara and all trading Poſts above it twenty Pounds ſterling except Detroit, which ſhould be thirty Pounds annually.

The Goods to be furniſhed the Savages ſhould be, if poſſible, as good as thoſe they had from the French before the reduction of Canada, ſold to them at the ſame Prices or in that Proportion if not ſo good, and the ſame Prices given for their Skins & Peltry—and to enable us to carry on this Trade to more Advantage & greater Safety than the French did, no Tranſportation to be ſuffer'd upon the Lakes but in Veſſels and Government to furniſh & keep up them Veſſells, the Trader paying Freight for his Goods at the Rate of one half what it would coſt him if tranſported in Boats. This would overpay the Expence of the Veſſells for Trade and thoſe neceſſary for the public Service and prevent drunken or evil minded Indians killing and plundering the Traders, which can not be avoided at Times, if the Tranſportation was carry'd on in Boats. The Number of Veſſells neceſſary for the Trade can not be fix'd, but by Time, but the ſooner there are two or three in the Lakes Huron & Michigan with two in Lake Superior the more pleaſing it will be to the Savages, as they will ſee no Time is loſt to put the Trade on an advantagious Footing for them. The Execution of this I take to be of great Importance towards fixing the Inclinations of the Savages in our Favor. The Savages ſhould not be debar'd Spiritious Liquors; it is their darling Paſſion, nay they love it ſo much they will ſacrifice their all to obtain it and will never live in Peace with us without it, but

ſtill

ſtill the Quantity each Trader ſhould be permitted to take with him ſhould be limited in the Proportion of the Goods he takes and might extend to fifteen Pounds in Spiritious Liquors to every hundred Pounds of other Goods, paying a Duty of two Shillings ſterl. per Gallon, which they can very well bear from the enormous Prices they ſell it at.

The Savages are ſubtile & the French intreguing, it therefore becomes dangerous to ſuffer the former to hord up a large Stock of Arms and Ammunition; but this can not be prevented ſhould every Trader have it in his Power to carry with him what Quantity he may judge proper; upon theſe Conſiderations and that the Proffits ariſing from the Sail & Returns would go a great way towards defraying the public Expence for the Protection of Trade, would it not be beſt in the Hands of Government under the Care of a Commiſſary ſubject to the Control of the Commanding Officer of each Poſt with Inſtructions as to the Quantity to be diſpoſed of annually. The Honor of Government will require theſe Articles to be good and the Prices ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and

Here I muſt notice that from the Government of Pennſylvania all the Shavanes and Delaware Indians are furniſh'd with Rifle Barrel Guns of an excellent Kind and that the Upper Nations are getting into them faſt by which they will be much leſs dependent upon us on account of the great ſaving of Powder by thoſe Guns, as it certainly diminiſhes the Demand of ſuch as have them more than Half, and in their way of carrying on War by far more prejudicial to us than any other Sort of Gun; would it not be a public Benefit to ſtop the making and vending any more of them throughout the Colonys and prevent the Importation of any into the Colonies.

Should

Should Government judge it neceſſary to take the ſupplying the Savages with Arms and Ammunition into their own Hands; for the upper Lakes a Public Magazine will be neceſſary at Detroit under proper Officers to receive & ſend forward to the other Poſts, as likewiſe to receive the Remittences back; and the Commiſſary of the Outpoſts ſhould account annually with thoſe of Detroit, ſubject to the Inſpection of the Governor or Officer commanding there.

Should New York be thought a proper Channel for the Conveyance up the Country, a Commiſſary ſhould be there and one at Albany; but if on the contrary Canada ſhould be thought beſt, Quebec & Montreal are proper Places for Offices for this Service.

Of all the Savages upon the Continent, the moſt knowing, the moſt intreguing, the leſs uſeful & the greateſt Villains are thoſe moſt converſant with the Europeans and deſerve the Attention of Government moſt by way of Correction, and theſe are the Six Nations, Shawanes & Delawares; they are well acquainted with the defenceleſs State of the Inhabitants who live on the Frontiers and think they will ever have it in their Power to diſtreſs & Plunder them; and never ceaſe raiſing the Jealouſy of the Upper Nations againſt us by propagating amongſt them ſuch Stories as make them believe the Engliſh have nothing ſo much at Heart as the Extirpation of all Savages. The apparent Deſign of the Six Nations is to keep us at War with all Savages but themſelves that they may be employed as Mediators between us & them at a Continuation of an Expenſe to the Public too often & too heavily felt, the Sweets of which they will never forget nor looſe Sight of if they can poſſibly avoid it. That of the Shawanes & Delawares is to live on killing, captivating and plundering the People inhabiting the

Frontiers, long Experience having ſhown them they grow richer & live better thereby than by hunting wild Beaſts.

This Campaign has fully opened the Eyes of the Upper Nations of Indians; they are now ſenſible they are made uſe of as the Dupes & Tools of theſe deteſtable & diabolical Set, the Six Nations, Shawanes & Delawares, and it would require but little Addreſs & Expence (the Poſts and Trade properly fix'd) to engage them to cut them from the Face of the Earth (and they deſerve it) or to keep the Six Nations in ſuch Subjection as would put an End to our being any longer a kind of Tributary to them; and their real Intereſt call upon them to diſtroy or drive the Shawanes & Delawares out of the Country they now poſſeſs on account of Hunting; this they know and would ſoon put either in Execution if aſſured his Majeſty would not ſuffer any other Savages to live there. Happy will it be when Savages can be puniſh'd by Savages, the good Effects of which the French can tell. That we can puniſh them is beyond Doubt whenever Wiſdom, Secrecy, Diſpatch & good Troops in Numbers proportionate to the Service are employ'd.

The Paſs of Neagara is of great Importance & will always be an Expence to Govern^{t}. The principal Part of the Trade, if the Tranſportation is carry'd on in Veſſells will paſs that way & from its Proximity to the Geneſeo Indians, a Part of the Six Nations & the greateſt Savage Enemies we have, it will be difficult if not impracticable for ſome Time to come, for private Perſons to keep up Boats & Carriage ſo well but that the Trade will meet with Delays; it would therefore be more ſafe & parmanent in the Hands of Government who only can make Tranſportation certain and by the Traders paying a reaſonable Price for the Carriage

riage for their Goods, &c., there will be no ſtop and the public Service carry'd on there without Expence.

This Campaign upon the Lakes has alſo laid open the Hearts of the Six Nations and a black one it will appear for us if Gen[l] Gage has ſent the Papers reſpecting them to his Majeſtys Miniſters, to which I hope he has tack'd the immenſe Expence they have been at to Government this Year excluſive of Proviſions, which is immenſe alſo. It will alſo been ſeen by them Papers that the Upper Nations of Indians know that we are fully acquainted with the Tricks the Six Nations play us and I believe they do expect to hear that that Part of them call'd Geneſeo Indians get their deſerts ſoon.

The French accuſtom'd the Savages of the upper Lakes & Rivers to ſend Traders with Goods to Winter amongſt them for which Permit the Trader paid a certain Price each Time; I believe the Indians will expect it will be ſo again; ſhould Government think proper to grant it then the Trader can very well pay thirty Pounds ſterling for each large Canoe ſo permitted, which will make a conſiderable Sum annually; the Paſſ to be given at Detroit only to prevent Fraud.

I am aſſur'd by Perſons lately from the Illinois that excluſive of the French Garriſons there, the Inhabitants are 600 fighting Men, have 1000 Negroes well accuſtom'd to the Uſe of ſmall Arms, averſe to our taking Poſſeſſion of the Country & have painted us out in ſuch Colours to the numerous Savages near them that they, the latter, will certainly endeavour to prevent the Troops getting there by the Miſſiſſippi even ſhould the Indians nearer the Sea allow them to paſs, which they think they will not, unleſs well paid for it, which will not anſwer what may perhaps be expected. They add, that it is their Opinion alſo, that all

all Attempts to get Poſſeſſion of the Illinoes with leſs than 3000 good Men will fail, and that thoſe Troops ſhould go down the Ohio River & the Expedition carry'd on with ſuch Secrecy that they may enter the Miſſiſſippi 90 Miles below Fort Charters before the Inhabitants can have Intelligence of it & Time to appriſe all the Savages.

I am convinced the only way to eſtabliſh ourſelves amongſt the Savages with Reſpect & Safety is to begin by coming upon them by ways unfrequented, undiſcovered and with ſuch Force as ſhall make ſuch an Impreſſion as ſhall be laſting, and if a Body of Troops ſhould be ſent to take Poſſeſſion of the Illinoes thoſe Troops ſhould viſite all the principal Nations of Indians upon the Banks of y^e^ Miſſiſſippi as near the Sea as they live and endeavour to enter into an Alliance with all they can and purchaſe their Aid to make War upon thoſe that remain ſtubborn to bring them to Reaſon & open a free Paſſage up the River. The ſhorteſt way to carry this into Execution is by Fort Pitt, provided the Troops are not to come from Canada, but if any comes from thence the beſt way is by Neagara to Preſque Iſle upon Lake Erie.

The Colony of Detroit grows faſt and the Inhabitants have great Influence over the Savages; the removing them would occaſion a general War with the Indians, and to leave them as they now are will take a great length of Time before they become proper Britiſh Subjects; it is therefore humbly ſubmitted if it would not be beſt to permit & encourage Britiſh Subjects to ſettle there as the Increaſe of the latter would be ſo great in a few Years that they muſt ſoon become one People by Marriages, &c.

The Spirit for ſettling the Kings Subjects there ſhew itſelf fully by a Memorial of ſixty Officers ſerving in the

upper Lakes in this Campaign, praying his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſ'd to permit them to ſettle 639 Farms at their own Expence, with ſuch Marks of the Kings Royal Favour as his Majeſty may think proper.

On receiving General Gages Orders to continue the War againſt the Shawanes & Delawares I demanded the Aſſiſtance of his Majeſtys new Subjects, the Ottawas, Chepewas, Hurons, Sakes & Potawatames; four Parties immediately went againſt them. One returned with one Scalp which is ſufficient for the whole to carry on & continue the War unleſſ prevented by bad Management by us.

Albany, 7th Decr 1764.

PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

Indian Wars of 1763 and 1764,

AND THE

CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Correſpondence of Military Officers and others charged with Duties relating to Indian Affairs, during the Wars of Pontiac, neceſſarily embodies a large Amount of Information concerning the Cauſes which led to Hoſtilities, the Alarms which thoſe occaſioned, the Meaſures that were taken to ſuppreſs them, and the Opinions that were entertained as to the Changes neceſſary to prevent their Continuance or Recurrence. Theſe Letters place before us in vivid Colours, the Condition of the Country, its Reſources and its Wants, and narrate, without Ornament, the ſimple Facts which their Writers wiſhed to communicate. A Portion of theſe Papers are copied from the Bradſtreet and Amherſt Manuſcripts, and moſt of the Remainder from the Manuſcripts of Sir William Johnſon, in the State Library. In making the Selection we have avoided as much as poſſible including thoſe ever before printed.

F. B. H.

PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

Indian Wars of 1763 and 1764.

Letter from Gen. Amherſt to Col. Bradſtreet.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS, p. 132.]

New York, 22d June, 1763.

IR: Your Expreſs arrived here laſt Night and delivered me your Letter of the 19th with thoſe Encloſed; the Anſwers to which I now tranſmit you, that you may forward them by the firſt ſafe Opportunity that offers.

You do very right to be prepared for puſhing up Proviſions to Fort Stanwix, which I would have you do tho' I am in Hope we ſhall have ample Supplys for the Upper Poſts from Fort Wm. Auguſtus.

I ſend Orders to Captain Winepreſs to march with his Company to Fort Ontario, as I now order about forty

forty Men of the 42d & 77th Regiments, who are fit for Garriſon Duty to Albany, where they will remain under the Command of a Captain of the 77th Regt who will ſucceed Capt. Winnepreſs in the Command of the Garriſon. There is likewiſe a Subaltern of the 77th, with a Lieut: and three Serjeants of the Independents.

Major Gladwin writes me of the 14th May, that the Detroit was inveſted by a large Body of Indians; but that the Garriſon were in high Spirits & he was in Hopes of being able to defend the Place untill he received ſome Succour from Niagara, & Major Wilkins acquaints me he had immediately on the Arrival of the Schooner from the Detroit, ſent off a Reinforcement of fifty Men with a Lieutenant and non-commiſſioned Officers, which I truſt will have arrived in Time to ſave the Place.

I well know that you are always ready, however I think it neceſſary to acquaint you to be ready for moving at a moments Warning, as if the Savages are not quickly reduced I believe I ſhall employ you on a Command, which, I am certain will be agreeable to you.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,

Jeffy. Amherst

Col. Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G.

P. S. Since I wrote the foregoing Mr. Leake has deliver'd

deliver'd me a Return of the Proviſions, which, by the laſt Returns, were at Fort Wm. Auguſtus, Oſwego & Niagara, &c., of which I encloſe you a Copy, whereby you will ſee, that the Quantities at theſe Poſts are very conſiderable. J. A.

With Major Duncan's Letter I received one from Major Wilkins to Captain Dalyell, which miſſed him by the Way, of the 3d Inſtant: Nothing new then at Niagara; but one of the Men that were miſſing, found, as I feared, dead & *ſcalped*, near the Fort above the Falls.

Altho' none of the Letters require Anſwers at preſent, I think it beſt to order the Poſt to return; and I have directed Mr. Colden to order the Rider, to make more haſte than they have lately done and to be more ready to ſet out from Albany, as the Service may require them, without waiting for any fixed Time.

Before I received your Letter I had apply'd to the Lt. Governor (finding that my Endeavors to accommodate Matters with the Perſons employed by the Elders & Deacons had no Effect, altho' I had ſpoke particularly to the Chief Juſtice for that Purpoſe) to give the neceſſary Directions to the Attorney-General, not only to defend your Suit, but to proſecute the Corporation of Albany, for pulling down his Majeſtys Fence, &c.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
Jeff. Amherst.

Col. Braadſtreet,
D. Q. M. G. Albany. P. S.

P. S. I this Moment receive a Petition from one Criſp, which I encloſe that you may be ſo good to give an Anſwer. I imagine that his Claim is not juſt or it would have been paid. J. A.

New

NEW YORK, 20th July, 1763.

SIR:

THE Poſt came in laſt Night with your Letter of the 15th Inſtant, and brought me likewiſe Letters from Major Duncan & Captain Loring, adviſing me of the latters Arrival at Fort Ontario, on the 5th, with the Sailors, and that he had fitted out the Johnſon Snow, ready to proceed to Fort Wm. Auguſtus for Proviſions. Himſelf & the reſt of the Seamen were to ſail in the Schooner to Niagara.

The Same to the Same.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 134.]

NEW YORK, 7th Auguſt, 1763.

SIR:

LAST Night I received your Letter of the 1ſt Inſtant.

You did very right to furniſh Sir William Johnſon with what Proviſions he required, for the Uſe of the Indians.

I have no Objecton to your ſending two or three Oxen, at a Time, to Fort Stanwix, for the Uſe of that Garriſon, as you ſay you can ſupply them cheaper than they can be got from New England. Lt. Colonel Campbell muſt take Care that there is a particular Account kept of what is iſſued, according to Orders, as there is no Commiſſary from the Crown at that Poſt, the Contractors Commiſſary will be only to be paid for the Flour; unleſs you ſell the Cattle to the Contractors.

The

The Daſtardly Behaviour of the Batteau Men is particularly unlucky at this Time; for I have been impatiently waiting to hear of the Arrival of the Engineers Stores at Oſwego: I hope when you ſent them back, they have proceeded with all imaginable Expedition.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
JEFF. AMHERST.

Col. Bradſtreet.

The Same to the Same.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 135.]

NEW YORK, 18th Septbr, 1763.

SIR:

I AM to own your Letter of the 12th Inſtant and I approve of your having ſupplyed Sir William Johnſon the Proviſions you mention as he expected to have a Conference at his Houſe with the Six Nation Indians.

Any Bedding that may be wanted hereafter for the Garriſons I can ſupply from hence, as there is a great Quantity now in Store, which came from *Martinique* and the *Havana*, but what you have forwarded to Oſwego, will be ſo much the nearer for being ſent to the Detroit, &c.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient Servant,
JEFF. AMHERST.

Col. Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G.

The Same to the Same.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 136.]

NEW YORK, 24th September, 1763.

SIR:

I AM to own Your Letter of the 10th Inſtant; I have not yet come to the Determination with regard to the ſmall Poſts on the Communication to Fort George: I can keep one Man only in each of them, which I will contrive to do, to continue the Poſſeſſion; but you may ſend a Proportion of Candles for the Garriſons of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort George & Fort Edward; the three laſt will have one Company in each; and there will be four Companys at Crown Point.

I encloſe you a Copy of Publick Orders, which have been given here, & which I ſend now to all the Poſts, for making Stoppages to all the Proviſions that may be iſſued to the Troops, in purſuance of Directions I have received from the Lords of the Treaſury: It has already taken place in Canada, and I have ordered the Stoppages to commence at Albany, the Dependent Poſts & the Communication to Fort George incluſively on the 1ſt October, for Crown Point & Ticonderoga are to be garriſoned by Troops from Canada. The Orders are to be made publick at all the other Poſts; but I have thought proper to continue an Allowance to the Troops at Fort Stanwix & the dependent Poſts & to the ſeveral Garriſons above, as I think it would be hard to put them to Stoppages until the *Indian War* is entirely quelled & that they are on the ſame Footing with the other Troops: This Regulation does not affect the Provincials who muſt be

be ſubſiſted, as uſual, untill the Service will permit them to be ſent to their reſpective Homes.

I encloſe you a Packett addreſſed to Lt. Colonel Elliott, containing Diſpatches for Canada, which you will forward by one of your People, on purpoſe, to Crown Point; ſending at the ſame Time the Letters to the commanding Officers at Fort Edward & Fort George. When the Companys from Canada arrive at Crown Point & Ticonderoga, Lt. Colonel Elliott, with the Men of the 55th (Leaving compleat Companys at Fort George & Fort Edward), will move down to Albany, where he will remain till further Orders.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Colonel Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G., Albany.

The Same to the Same.

NEW YORK, 28 Septb., 1763.

SIR:

A VESSEL having arrived here with the Cloathing for the ſeveral Regts in this Country, I am ſending that for the Corps above as faſt as poſſible to Albany, that no Time may be loſt in forwarding it before the Winter ſets in. One Sloop is already loaded & will ſail to morrow Morning: Enſign Croſthwaite, who is going to Albany, has the Care of the Cloathing in her & will deliver you the Bill of Lading; ſo that you will order the Cloathing to be landed & put into the Store at Albany, ſending the encloſed Letter to Fort Stanwix & Crown Point, as I have directed the Commanding Officers at thoſe Poſts to ſend Qr.

Maſters & proper Partys to conduct the Cloathing to their reſpective Poſts; the 17th, 46th & 80th to Fort Stanwix; from whence the two former will be forwarded to Oſwego, for which I write to Major Duncan; and from thence to Niagara, &c., and the Cloathing for the other Corps muſt be ſent with the Party that comes from Crown Point. Two other Sloops will take the Whole from hence; and you will pay the Hire at the uſual Rate & according to what you may think juſt & reaſonable. Swits's Sloop, which ſails to-morrow, has got many other Things, I am told, on board; ſo that he ought to be paid accordingly; and I ſhall tranſmit you Bills of Lading of the others when they are loaded.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Colonel Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G. Albany.

Letter from Alexander Duncan to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, vii.]

FORT ONTARIO, 1ſt Octob., 1763.

SIR:

A FEW Days ago I was favored with your Letter of the 17th ultimo and veſterday that of the 26th reached my Hands.

I have forwarded your Letter to Major Moncrieff, from whom I have received a Letter dated 26th ultimo at Niagara in which he informs, that they were then preparing to ſet out for Detroit, but that they were obliged to carry the Proviſions over the Portage on Men's Shoulders and that it would be the 5th or 6th October

October before they would be able to ſed out. I have ſent ſixteen Oxen which are with them before now, there is likewiſe a Reinforcement of 260 Men that I reckon have got to Niagara this Day, theſe I hope will enable Major Wilkins to ſed out ſooner and ſtronger than he expected; the whole are under his Command I imagine will exceed 600 Men, they go in Battoes & carry ſo much Proviſions as they can.

You will no doubt have heared that the Savages attacked the Schooner going up the River to Detroit on the 3d ultimo, the Maſter of the Veſſel & one Seaman were killed & three others wounded, but the Savages were beat off; they had once got upon the Bowſprit and have hacked and cut the Veſſel a great dale on the Bows & under the Stern; there was only twelve Men on board the Schooner at the beginning of the Affair, three of whom were ſick. The Indians acknowledge to have left eight Men & many wounded & by ſome of their Canoes overſetting have loſt ſixty Stand of Arms.

Several Canoes have lately arrived here from Canada with Paſſports (to go to Detroit with Ammunition & Indian Goods) from General Gage; I have taken the Paſſes from the Traders & ſecured the Ammunition & Goods in the Fort. The People in theſe Canoes inform me that ſeveral Traders have got Paſſports to go up Grand Riviere and that one Canoe is gone to Toronto. I have informed Lt. Col. Browning of the latter, that he may ſend a Party & bring away the Traders from Toronto. Here follows a Copy of the Preamble to one of theſe Paſſports.

"By the Hon^ble^ Genl. Gage, &c., &c. Whereas "Meſſrs. Wells & Wade have repreſented to me, that "it is probable that the Savages are diſperſed from "about Detroit, and therefore demand Permiſſion to ſend

"ſend a Canoe there under ſuch Regulations as I ſhall "think neceſſary to be given."

It is not eaſy to account for Mr. Gages Conduct on this Occaſion, but I have ſend Copys of all the Paſſports that have fallen into my Hands to Sir Jeffrey Amherſt, let thoſe two Gentlemen ſettle that Affair. Six Canoes came here five of which were loaded, the other had put their Loading on board the Sloop at Fort William Auguſtus and they have no leſs than 75 Barrels of Gunpowder beſides, &c.

Every thing continues quiet here.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

Alex Duncan

To Sir William Johnſon.

Letter from General Amherſt to Colonel Bradſtreet.

New York, 1ſt October, 1763.

Sir:

AS the laſt Sloop with the Cloathing is not yet ſailed I take the Opportunity of ſending this by her (as ſhe may reach Albany before the Poſt) to acknowledge your Letters of the 25th & 26th September by Captain Sowers; and to approve entirely of your Readineſs in forwarding the Oxen, Carts, &c. for Niagara: Your getting the *Tyers*, &c. made at Albany has likewiſe my Approbation; and as they muſt be in want of Provender for the Cattle during the Winter, they not having had an Opportunity to make any Hay,

I ſhould be glad you could forward to Niagara a Sufficiency of Corn, which you tell me you can do.

In a late Letter to Lt. Colonel Elliot I directed him to ſend down the Remainder of the Detachment of the 17th Regiment, immediately on the Arrival of the Companys from Montreal, which I conclude he will have done; and that Captain Morris will have proceeded to Fort Stanwix; but ſhould Captain Morris with that Detachment be at Albany on Receipt hereof or arrive afterwards you will acquaint him that it is my Orders he proceeds, without Delay, to Fort Stanwix; as Lt. Colonel Campbell has at preſent rather too thin a Garriſon; eſpecially as, from the Accounts I have received of the late Affair on the Carrying Place at Niagara, there is Reaſon to ſuſpect that the Body of Savages who cut off our Convoy were moſtly Senecas. I hope the other Five Nations are not privy to this Affair; altho' it is hard to ſay who are our Friends or Foes. The whole Race of Savages ſeem to be, more or leſs, concerned in this treacherous Inſurrection.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Colonel Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G.

Letter from Capt. Daniel Claus to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

MONTREAL, 1ſt Octob., 1763.

HON. SIR:

I HOPE mine of the 23d ultimo, by Capt. Brown, came ſafe to Hand, ſince which I had a Deputation from the Miſſiſageys living about Toronto; their Meſſage conſiſted of a large String and a Belt of about

2000

2000 Wampum, by the former they expreſſed their great Concern on acc[t] of the preſent unhappy Diſturbances about Detroit, &c., and that they abhorred and deteſted it and therefore had ſince the Beginning kept out of the way in the Environs of Cataracqui, that at the ſame Time they were thereby reduced to the greateſt Diſtreſs for want of their Neceſſaries being brought among them, and therefore requeſted & implored the General to let y[e] Trader La Farge alias Tawaniawe the Swegachie interpreter, who uſed to ſupply them heretofore with Neceſſaries come to their Village this Seaſon that they might not be prevented from this Winters Hunt for want of Ammunition, &c. ——— the Belt.

Genl. Gage without Heſitation replied them that as to their Profeſſions he could or would not ſo far doubt them, tho' he was ſure of ſome Canoes having been purſued by Miſſiſagey Ind[s] and when overtaken & found they were French were told that they took to be Engliſh whom they lay in wait for. However be that as it would he ſhould not give them an Anſwer upon their Meſſage, that if they wanted to exculpate themſelves they muſt addreſs themſelves to you as the principal Perſon of their Affairs who only had the Power from the King to hear & ſettle ſuch Matters & as to ſending a Perſon to trade among them he would never agree to it, neither was it in his Power, and ſo ſent them away. They were 3 in Number and had with them a Pany who deſerted from hence when this Place was taken and being found out by his Maſter was taken from them by him upon the Gen[ls] Order and put into the Provoſts. A Frenchman that came from Niagara this Sumer informed the General that he was purſued by ſ[d] Pany and coming up to him with his Knife in his Hand told him that if he was an Engliſhman would looſe his Life.

I afterward examin'd the Frenchman, whether any of theſe Ind^{s} were in Company with the Pany but he was ſure they were not.

I then ſpoke to them in my Room, and made them as much ſenſible as I could of the heinous Behaviour of thoſe Nations that occaſioned the preſent Diſturbances, and that they muſt attribute every Inconveniency they now labored under to them only, and endure it till ſuch a Time as proper Satiffaction was given for their vile & inconſiderate Actions, etc.

I had their Arms mended for them and gave them a little Ammunition, Tobacco & Rum and diſmiſſed them, tho' they expected ſome Cloathing, being in a Manner naked; I alſo gave them a Paſſport to go your way in caſe their Nation would ſend them.

I impatiently wait for the Return of the Caghnawageys as well on account of knowing the Determination of the 6 Nations who I hear had a numerous Congreſs at your Houſe, as my Deſtination for the enſuing Winter.

This goes by Maj^{r} Abercrombie who I hear is to be one Genl. Amherſt's Family.

I am, with the greateſt Reſpect and Compliments to the Family,

Hon. Sir,
Your moſt dutyfull
and obedient Serv.

To the Hon^{ble} Sir William Johnſon, Bart.

I beg leave to trouble you with the encloſure.

Letter

Letter from Maj. Robert Rogers to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

DETROIT, October 7th, 1763.

SIR:

MAJOR Gladwin has told me that he will encloſe you all the Proceedings at this Place ſince the Date of my laſt Letter, as alſo every particular Account concerning the Indian War, the firſt beginning, &c.

For theſe Reaſons and as I think it would come more correct from him than from me, I defer mentioning any other Particulars relative to our Condition at this Place.

McCormick will deliver you this Letter, he has a Bill on Col. Croghan. I ſhould be obliged to you if you would gett him the Money, for it would ſerve me greatly to make my Payments ſpeedily.

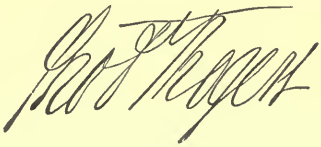
Aaron the Mohawk Indian came into the Fort this Day, Daniel and Jacob is alſo in this Garriſon but I have not any Intelligence from them but what Major Gladwin will communicate, tho' I ſoon ſhall & ſome that they tell me & no man ſhall at this Place know but myſelf, but you ſhall have it in full from me, and one of the Indians you ſent up will convey the ſaid Account, the other four is now in Sanduſky where there is a grand Council, but will return in a day or two; the Schooner ſails directly, therefore I can not ſend to you their private Information, but ſurely will do it by themſelves the firſt Opportunity.

There is about one thouſand Indians in this Settlement at preſent waiting for ſome Troops that is coming up; I wiſh they may not get a Flogging.

I beg you'll be ſo kind as to inform Mrs. Rogers if there is any likelyhood of my coming down this Fall, for

for my Part I know nothing of the Diſpoſition for this Place at preſent, neither does Major Gladwin.

I am Sir, Your moſt obed^{t}
Humble Servant.



To Sir William Johnſon.

The Same to the Same.

Detroit, Octob. 7th, 1763.

Sir:

SINCE I wrote my Letter, Aaron the Mohawk has come in and tells me that he was in the Council yeſterday and that all the Nations here he ſays the Indian War begun through the Five Nations and that ſince the Belt came here that Aaron ſays he told you was brought by one Indian laſt Fall, that a ſecond Belt came laſt March and told the Indians to begin, and with that a Tomahawk was delivered and the Indians that brought this Belt from the Five Nations told and aſſur'd the Indians that they would begin at the Time the Corn was planted. The five Nations was to ſtrike from Niagara to Schenectady and the Taways and other Nations to take the upper Poſts on the Lakes, that the Senecas and Cahugees were the People that ſent this Meſſage and further told them that they would meet them at the Windotes town early this Spring.

24 Aaron

Aaron tells me that the Hurons were obliged to ſtrike the Engliſh as they were threatened by the Toways and other Nations and that the Toways now tells the Hurons if they attempt to make Peace without their Conſent or Advice they will directly deſtroy them, and that if they attempt to come to the Fort they will be conſidered by them as Engliſhmen.

Aaron ſays that they have ſeen our Troops that are coming from Niagara at the Long Point on the north Shore, and that all the Savages here are determined to attack them at Point a Plee.

Aaron ſays he will lett you know further ſoon and what he has told you now you may depend upon is true, that the Hurons deſire that you may know that the Taways and other Nations on the Lake are now their Maſters, their Numbers being ſo ſmall they can't help themſelves, they are going to the Huron River about thirty Miles from this Fort, where they intend to winter, and the Taways are reſolv'd to winter at Miame River, the other four Indians that came up with Aaron are gone to Sanduſky.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

ROBERT ROGERS.

Endorſed. Wrote to Jn Glen, Eſqr. for 15 Barrels Pork & Flour in Proportion, 5 to be ſent to Cherry Valley, 5 to Conradt Franks, 5 to Caghnawagey.

Memorandum. 10 Pr Strouds, 6 do. Aurora, 6 do. Blankets, 540 Shirts; 12 ps Stocking Stuff, 108 lb. Vermillion, 719 lb. Verdigreaſe, 100 Pipe watches, 8 Groce of Knives, 20 Yds Ribbon, 6 ps Silk handkerchiefs, 11 groce Rings, 10 lbs Beeds.

Letter from Sir William Johnſon to Colonel Eyre.

JOHNSON HALL, Octbr 13th, 1763.

DEAR SIR:

I AM to thank you for your Favor of the 3d Inſt., altho' the Want of the *Packet*, as you obſerved, muſt prevent your having any material News. I moſt heartily wiſh whenever it arrives it may bring the News of their being perfectly acquainted in England with the Commencement of our Indian War, as without that they will be unable to take any proper Meaſures & the firſt News which was ſent Home in June poſſibly did not appear very intereſting.

About 2 Days ago I had an Account that a conſiderable Body of Indians are aſſembling at the Suſquehana with Deſign to deſtroy this Country from Schenectady upwards, or elſe to fall upon Eſopus or Shamokin, &c. Both the former I look upon to be in their Power & therefore believe it is probable they will put one of them in Execution; for my part I can not ſee what will prevent their Succeſs, as you know the Nature of the Country People ſufficiently to ſuppoſe they can not be kept in a Body for any Time, but muſt follow their ſeveral Occupations, ſo that I have only to rely on the Hopes of ſome previous Intelligence & on the preſent favorable Diſpoſition of all the Nations (except Senecas) many of whom are ready and deſirous to join our Troops, but how long they may continue in this Diſpoſition is uncertain, as the great Succeſs of our Enemys & the ſmall Oppoſition they have hitherto met with renders our Friends very apprehenſive of their Reſentment from their daily Threats and may occaſion their Defect[n], eſpecially as we are not able to give any neceſſary Succour which might

might enable them to withſtand our Enemins. I have from ſeveral Hands the Particulars of our unlucky Affair at Niagara by which it appears that our Troops were attacked in ſuch a diſadvantagious Situation that they were hurried down the ſteep Cliffs near La Platon unable to make any Reſiſtance & moſt of them periſhed, many of them were found ſticking in the Forks of Trees; the Senecas of Cheneſeo (who were the Principals in this Affair) have not brought in any Scalps, with only one Man wounded on their Side. This is particularly unlucky at this Time and I fear will be followed by more ſuch blows if the greateſt Care be not taken.

I ſhall expect when any thing occurs that you will let me have the Pleaſure of hearing from you, as

I am,

with Sincerity, &c.

Col. Eyre.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Lieut. Gov. Colden.

Johnson Hall, Octob. 13th, 1763.

Dear Sir:

I HAVE juſt received an Account, that a conſiderable Body of Indians from towards the Ohio & the Seneca Country are aſſembling on the Suſquehanna and that they are deſtined to fall either on Shamokin, Eſopus, or to deſtroy the Mohawk River Settlements from Schenectady upwards, the firſt of theſe Places is capable of making a Defence, but I can ſee little to prevent their Succeſs againſt the two latter, particularly in theſe Parts from the ſad State of the Militia and the great Want of Ammunition, &c.

I have acquainted Col. Hardenbergh of the Danger of

of the Settlement of Eſopus and as I have no doubt that one of theſe Deſigns will be put in immediate Execution, muſt beg the Favour of hearing from you thereon as alſo of your Anſwer to mine of the 10th of Aug. laſt concerning the Vacancies & Additions neceſſary for this Regiment.

In the mean Time I ſhall take every effectual Meaſure for the obtaining the neceſſary Intelligence on which the Safety of this important Frontier muſt chiefly depend, and on Warning of the Enemy's Approach ſhall make the beſt Diſpoſition the Nature of the Country will admit of.

The many Succeſſes of our Enemies, together with their large Number, may prove of dangerous Conſequence by influencing our Friends to joyn them thro' fear of their Power, Vicinity & Reſentment, eſpecially as we are not able to afford them the Aſſiſtance which Allies ſhould require, but I ſhall continue to uſe all my Endeavors to prevent a Defection, which as Matters now ſtand muſt prove the Deſtruction of this Country as well as to cut off ſo eſſential a Communication to the Lakes.

I hope to have the Pleaſure of your Anſwer and
I am with great ſincerity
& Eſteem, &c.

Lt. Governor Colden.

Letter from Gen. Amherſt to Lieut. Gov. Colden.

New York, 15th October, 1763.

Sir:

IN a Letter I have this Moment received from Sir William Johnſon of the 6th Inſtant, among other Intelligence concerning the bad Intentions of the Indians

dians, he ſays he has learnt, "that the Senecas & De-"lawares were now daily marching to *Kaghraandote* on "the Suſquehana, a Place appointed for their Ren-"dezvous; that when all were aſſembled their Leader, "*Quaghquoandax*, would then agree to fall on one of "the following Places, namely, Shamokin, Eſopus or "Cherry Valley; and the Mohawk River from Sche-"nectady upwards." I therefore think it highly neceſſary to give you this Notice, that you may take proper Steps for putting the Militia on their Guard as it is abſolutely impoſſible for me to ſpare one Man from the Poſts above; for I have puſhed on every Man I could ſpare to Niagara & the Detroit; and you know I have none below. Sir William Johnſon, I doubt not, will take every Precaution in his Power for protecting the Settlements on the Mohawk River. But the Inhabitants everywhere on the Frontiers can not be too much on their Guard & indeed the only thing they have to do is to be unanimous in repelling by Force any Attemps that may be made by the Savages.

I am with great Regard,
Sir, Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servant,
JEFF. AMHERST.

Hon^bl Lt. Governor Colden.

Letter from David Vanderheyden to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

SIR:

I AM this Moment inform'd by Robert Lanſingh, who came laſt Night from the *Groote Imbogt*[1] that one *Dirk Ehl* at that Place had rec'd a Letter from a

[1] The *Groote Imbogt* (or Great Bend) was on the Hudſon River, juſt below the Mouth of the Catskill Creek, on the weſt Side,

Kinſman

Kinſman, living ſomewhere on Delaware River, informing him that about 60 Families were deſtroy'd thereabout.

I fear that the Indians that have now been to N. York with Sam[l] Pruyn are Spy's, tho' they behaved very compliſant & civil to me & my Houſe: my Negro Wench tells me this Morning, that the youngeſt of them, who talks the beſt Engliſh, had told her Huſband, Capt. Steph[n] Schuyler's Negro, that the Indians were all join'd, & that they did not fear the great Guns but enjon'd him to keep it Secret as the Negros would be in no Danger. And by ſome Traders I am inform'd that he is the ſame that cauſed a Diſturbance at Oſwego & Niagara laſt Spring a Year.

I communicate theſe out of Zeal for the Service and am with unfeign'd Regard,

Sir, your Honor's
moſt obedient humble Servant.

Dirck v an Der Heyden

Albany, the 19th October, 1763, a 8 A. M.
To the Hon[ble] Sir William Johnſon, Bt.
at Johnſon Hall.

Letter from F. Decouagne to Sir William Johnſon.

Niagara, Octob. 22d, 1763.

Honorable Sir:

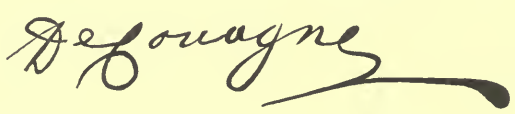
IN your laſt you deſired to know whether Daniel & the reſt of the Indians was gone to Detroit, the former has been up with two Parties & has the Character of a good Man from every one, but moſt People give

give an indifferent Acc^{t} of Aron. There has been no Indians here; the Traders at this Poſt are all Suttlers. Major Wilkins is gone with the laſt Partie & has taken with him all the Belts and Bands Wampham to the Wapagamat Indians. I dont learn by any Accounts that the ſ'd Indians have done any Miſchief at preſent. I have no more to relate at this Juncture than have ſent encloſed Mr. Stedmans Acc^{t} of what happen'd the 19th & 20th Inſt., the ſ'd Perſon being preſent at the whole Affair.

I have an Intention to go as I think wou'd be proper amongſt ſome of the Wapagamats to get Intelligence but believe it will be very dangerous, therefore beg your Inſtructions by the firſt Opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt Obed^{t} Hum^{l} Serv^{t}



SIR:

I have further to inform you that all the Canadians who have Paſſes from General Gage to Trade are ſtopp'd at the different Poſts.

To the Hon. Sir William Johnſon, Bt.,
at Johnſon Hall.

Letter from General Amherſt to Colonel Bradſtreet.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 141.]

New York, 29th October, 1763.

Sir:

I ARRIVED here on Thurſday Morning and gave immediate Orders for getting ready the Iron Work for the Schooners that are intended to be built for the Service of Lake Erie, &c. A ſufficiency for one of 60 Tons, with the Rigging will be ſent on Saturday next, & Preparation ſhall be made for two more & ſent up as faſt as poſſible. I need not deſire you to forward the whole in the beſt Manner you can.

This will be delivered to you by *Bogardus* in whoſe Sloop Mr. Napier has ſhipt the Bedding as per the encloſed Invoice & Receipt, and you will pleaſe to receive the Whole and order them to be ſafely ſtored to be ready for ſupplying any of the Poſts above: Tho' ſome of them have been uſed, Mr. Napier aſſures me they are as clean, ſweet and good as if they had not been uſed. As Mr. Napier is accomptable for this Bedding, it will be neceſſary that you ſend him a proper Receipt for them.

Lt. Colonel Campbell writes me, that the Bridges on the Communication between Fort Stanwix & the Flatts[1] were broke down by the Oxen that were lately ſent up; and that if they are not repaired before the Winter, the Roads will be impaſſable for Sledges: I have wrote to Sir William Johnſon on this Head & requeſted him to endeavor to get the Inhabitants to effect this uſefull Service; but if you can anyways lend a helping Hand it will be ſo much the better, for I

[1] German Flats.

fear we can not depend much on what the Country People will do, without they are preſſed to do it.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant.

JEFF. AMHERST.

Colonel Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G.

The Same to the Same.

NEW YORK, 30th October, 1763.

SIR:

IN all Probability the Sloop with the Beding will be at Albany before the Poſt reaches you. I however encloſe you a Duplicate of my Letter that went by her & I likewiſe tranſmit you a Liſt of the Ironworks that are getting ready for the Schooner, and which with the Rigging, will, I hope be embarked from hence on Saturday next.

I encloſe a Packett addreſſed to Governor Burton at Montreal, which you will pleaſe to forward by the firſt ſafe Opportunity; and likewiſe a Letter for Major General Gage which you will keep until he arrives at Albany, where you will ſoon ſee him, as I imagine he is on the Route by this Time & it might miſs him, were you to ſend it on.

On my Arrival here, I applyed to the Lt. Governor regarding the ruinous Condition of the Fort at Albany & repreſented to him how neceſſary it was to have it repaired in Time, as 'tis Shamefull to ſee it: he has promiſed to make Application to his Aſſembly for that Purpoſe; but as the Fort is going in the mean Time to Ruin & that we may always want to keep a few Men there, I would have you order the Maſonry or the

the Parapets to be repaired, if it can be done at a ſmall Expence, as it will be too late before the Aſſembly will determine. The Coping them with wood, as the north Curtain is & the Work in the Inſide of the Fort, may be done later in the Seaſon, & I hope will be done at the Expence of the Province.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Col. Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G.

The Same to the Same.

NEW YORK, 1ſt November, 1763.

SIR:

THIS will be delivered to you by Lieut. Godwin, whom I ſend to Albany, with a non-commiſſioned Officer & three Men of the Royal Artillery, which are all that I can ſpare from hence, & I think they may be uſefull in forwarding any Artillery Stores that may be ſent to the upper Poſts, or giving their Aſſiſtance to other Services at Albany, and I write to Lt. Colonel Elliot accordingly.

To avoid any Diſputes about Quarters, I would have you provide Lieut. Goodwin with a Room in the Hoſpital.

I have this Moment received your Letter of the 26th October, and with it I have one from Major Gladwin of the 7th October. Every thing as well as we could expect at the Detroit: Moncrieffe, with the Reinforcements, juſt ſetting off on Lake Erie the 14th and I hope they will arrive in Time to give the Barbarians

barians a Check before the Winter ſets in, tho' it is too late to expect much.

I have applyed to the Provinces of New York & Jerſey, for two thouſand Men, to be raiſed early in the Spring, 1400 from New York & 600 from the Jerſeys. Five Companys of the former, of 60 Men each, to be raiſed immediately for the Protection of the Communication between Albany & Oſwego. How far my Requeſt will be granted I know not; but I ſhall acquaint you, as ſoon as I receive the Governors Anſwer. In the meantime I would have you make the neceſſary Preparations for the new Boats, ſhould the one you are building anſwer, of which you will be the beſt Judge, and you muſt be ſure of your Succeſs.

I may now acquaint you that His Majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to give me Permiſſion to return to England, Major General Gages, with whom I am to leave the Command of the Troops & who will ſoon be at Albany on his way hither, will have full Directions concerning the future Operations; and you may conſult with him regarding the new Boats, as well as the Preparations for the other Matters; for by the Time he arrives here I ſhall be able to judge of what Aſſiſtance may be expected from the Provinces and we muſt prepare accordingly. I have ordered two light Six Pounders to Albany.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Colonel Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G., Albany.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from William Edgar at Detroit to Sir William Johnſon.

Novb. 1ſt, 1763.

I HAVE lately received a Letter from Hombach which came by an Officer from Illenois, who brought a Belt & Letter to the Savages, with the Account of the Peace, between England and France, which neither the Savages nor the French *here* believed till now. In Conſequence of which, our moſt implacable Enemys, the Ottawas (who were the only Nation here diſpoſed for continuing the War, all the reſt having begged forgiveneſs for what they have done, of our worthy Commandant) are now, with the others, ſuing for Peace, in the moſt abject Manner. Mr. Prentice is very well at Sanduſky, as is Mr. Winſton, at St. Joſephs, and from the preſent Diſpoſition of the Savages, I apprehend they will ſoon bring them in.

Letter from Sir William Johnſon to the Authorities at German Flats.

Novbr 3d, 1763.

GENTLEMN:

AS I underſtand that ſome Chenopſco[1] Indians (who are now our Enemies) make a Practice of coming to the German Flatts to purchaſe Powder & other Things w^h^ you know is not allowed, beſides, when there, they have an Opportunity of making their Remarks & ſeeing our Strength, you ſhould in order

[1] Geneſee.

to

to prevent y^e^ like for the Future, take up all ſuch as you find of that Nation & ſend them Priſoners to Albany under a good Guard, firſt being certain that they are our Enemies—not doubting but that y^r^ own Prudence will lead you both to do every thing of that Kind with Propriety & Diſcretion. I need add no more.

Letter to Juſtices Frank & Harkemer to apprehend any Chenupſcos who may come to the Flatts.

Letter from Volkert P. Douw to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

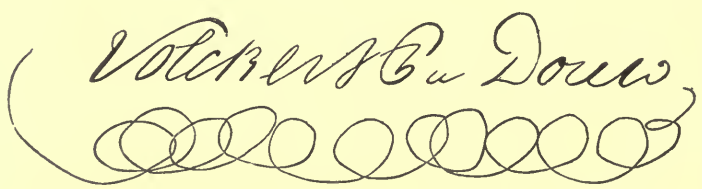
ALBANY, Novemb. 3d, 1763.

SIR:

I THOUGHT it not improper at this Time to acquaint you as being Commiſſioner of Indian Affairs that laſt Night arrived here three Tenneſie Indians directly from there Caſtle as they ſay; they alſo ſay they waited on you as they paſſed in there way to Albany of which I doubt much; they have a ſmall Quantity of Beaver with them but no Perſon chuſes to Trade with them without Liberty. I am at a loſs how to act with regard to thoſe Indians and ſhould be glad of your Direction therein by the Return of the Bearer.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt Hum^l^ Servant,



To Sir William Jonſon, Barnit.

Orders

Orders iſſued by Captain Guy Johnſon to the Garriſon at Schenectady.

ORDERS.

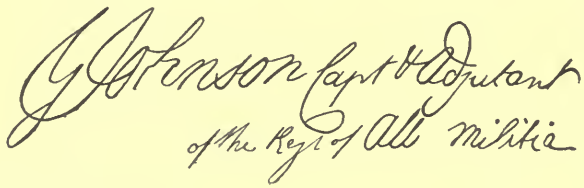
AS the Safety and Protection of Schenectady depends in a great Meaſure on the keep of a good Guard in the Town, it is Sir Wm. Johnſons Orders that the Commanding Officer of the ſecond Bataillon of Militia for the County of Albany do immediately appoint a Guard conſiſting of a Subaltern, Serj't, Corporal and twenty Men to mount at the Block Houſe in the Albany Street and to be regularly relieved every 24 Hours till further Orders, which Guard is to poſt Centinels at ſuch Places as the Commanding Officer of the Battaillon ſhall judge beſt, the Centinels to be regularly relieved by the Corporal of the Guard every two Hours and the Officer to let no more than two Men be at any Time abſent from the Guard. Every Evening at Sunſet the Officer of the Guard is to have his Men under Arms, the Roll called & Mens Arms, &c. examined & ſee that they are furniſhed with 12 Rounds of Powder & Ball, no Perſon is to be abſent on pain of Puniſhment and the Town Major is at the Time he thinks neceſſary to viſit the Guards & Centinels & make a Report thereof to the Commanding Officer. The Serjeant of the Guard to viſit the Centinels frequently during the Night and the Officer on being relieved to make a Report of the Guard in Writing to the Commanding Officer who is to ſee theſe Orders ſtrictly complied with.

In caſe of an Alarm the Militia are to aſſemble at the Dutch Church and there to follow ſuch Orders as they ſhall receive from the Commanding Officer for the Protection of the Town, the Guard turning out & continuing

continuing under Arms until they ſhall receive the Commanding Officers Orders.

And the Commanding Officer is to tranſmit in writing to Sir Wm. Johnſon a Return of the ſtate of the Blockhouſe and other Fortifications about the Town, as alſo of the Number, State & Quality of the Cannon & Ammunition, &c., immediately.

Johnſon Hall, Nov'r 3d, 1763.



Col. Vanſlyke, &c.

Letter from Gavin Cochrane to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

Dear Sir:

I CAME here yeſterday & had the Pleaſure to find all your Friends here well—the Battoe is in a Hurry to go down which prevents my having the Pleaſure of waiting on you. Capt. Daniel, at parting, preſſed me much to give an Account of his Behaviour whilſt with me when I was guarding the Wreck; I was there above a Fortnight & in all that Time he was but once drunk, always at my Elbow, & very Induſtrious to do every thing to ingratiate himſelf with me, and ſo was Jacob, who was with him. We were fired at for near two Hours by 25 or 30 Indians, as they gueſſed from the Tracks afterwards & Daniel kept cloſe by me & ſhowed great Zeal—we loſt 3 Men; the Enemy came very near but we could not get one Shot at them—the Behaviour of Aaron, &c. occaſioned me to be ſollicited not to ſend Daniel up with the Schooner, but I ſent him;

him; nor will I believe the Mohawks in general diſhoneſt.

Fatigue & Cold gave me an Illneſs which tho' I have not yet quite recovered I am pretty well, only in a very bad Weather I am pretty ſure ſtill of an Ague Fit. I am ſo far on my Way to New York.

The Troops for Detroit, about 600 Men under Major Wilkins got out from the Head of the Rapids at the Entrance into Lake Erie the 20th of October. Two Boats were fired upon at embarking there & all in them except a Serjt killed or wounded; five were killed & one died of his Wounds, as did alſo Lt. Johnſon; there were a good Body of Men ſtill aſhore who purſued & engaged in the Woods for ſome Time & than returned in good Order to the Boats. This is the Serjeants Account who remained unhurt, who ſaid he ſaw this at a Diſtance but knows no other Particulars.

I don't know whether it is worth mentioning to you that whilſt I was at Fort Stanwix I was told a Squaw of the Oneidas that had juſt come ſaid there was a Report amongſt them that 20 of their Young Men had been killed by our People in the Cheroquee Country & that the Oneydas were holding a Council about it. I am, with great Sincerity,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient & very humble Servt.

Gavin Cochrane

Fort Johnſon, Novb. 5th, 1763.

The Number in the two Boats that were fired upon were 14 excluſive of the Officers.

Letter from General Amherſt to Colonel Bradſtreet.

NEW YORK, 6th November, 1763.

SIR:

I HAD laſt Night your Letter of the 31ſt October: The Account given by *Silverheels*, I believe, is too true and I am not ſurpriſed the Inhabitants on the Mohawk River are alarmed: They can not be too much on their guard, until they can get an additional Aſſiſtance, which I hope the Province will furniſh, when the Aſſembly meets.

I have mentioned to the Lt. Governor how neceſſary it will be to get a Law paſſed for impreſſing Carriages, as well as billeting the Troops on this Occaſion. But whether he can bring it to bear, or not, I know not.[1]

I am very glad to find you have ſuch Hopes of the Boat anſwering; but am ſorry to hear you have ſuch bad Reports of the Stuff fit for building Boats at Oſwego; however I am apt to think the Batteaus from Canada may anſwer; General Gage will know that.

[1] This Law was not paſſed. The only Acts paſſed by the General Aſſembly of New York with reference to the Wars of Pontiac were the following:

"An Act providing for three hundred effective Men, excluſive of Officers, to be employed againſt the Enemy Indians, and for one hundred and ſeventy-three Men, Officers included, to garriſon the ſeveral Forts on the Frontiers of this Colony, in ſuch Manner as the Commander-in-Chief of all his Majeſty's Forces in North America ſhall think proper, and alſo for three hundred effective Men, excluſive of Officers, to guard the weſtern Frontiers of the Colony under the Direction of the Governor or Commander-in-Chief thereof.

Paſſed Dec. 13, 1763."

"An Act providing for one hundred and eighty Men, excluſive of Officers, to be employed againſt the Enemy Indians and other Purpoſes therein mentioned."

Paſſed April 21, 1764.

General

General Gage, in all Probability will be with you before this reaches Albany, and as he has no Family with him, I hope he will have found all the Aſſiſtance he could require on the Route.

The Sloop with the Iron work, &c., as mentioned in my laſt, ſailed on the 4th. I encloſe you a Liſt of the Whole, but the Maſter went off without ſigning the Invoice of the Sails, Cables & Anchors: you have his Receipt therewith for the Iron work, and you will pleaſe to take care that he delivers the Whole, agreeable to the encloſed Liſt. I need not deſire you to forward them in the beſt Manner you can.

As Captain Loring, I imagine, will be down ſoon, I would chuſe to wait for his Opinion of the Size of the other Veſſel, before I ſent the Materials; but ſhould he not come ſoon, I ſhall order Iron work, &c. to be forwarded for the ſame Kind of Schooner as the one for which the Materials are now ſent.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedt. Servant,
JEFF. AMHERST.

Colonel Bradſtreet,
D. Q. M. G. Albany.

Meſſage of Lieutenant Governor Colden to the General Aſſembly of New York.[1]

[Gaine's Journal of General Aſſembly, ii, 720.]

Gentlemen of the Council and General Aſſembly.

THE great and deſireable Work of Peace, being by the Wiſdom and Magnanimity of our gracious Sovereign, happily accompliſhed ſince your Receſs; I cordially congratulate you on this joyful Event, ſo highly glorious to his Majeſty, and extenſively Beneficial to his People. His American Subjects, who will derive from it a Security, unknown ſince the firſt Eſtabliſhment of theſe Colonies, muſt receive this Mark of the royal Attention to their Intereſt and Safety, with the warmeſt Sentiments of Loyalty, Gratitude and Affection.

The Enjoyment of ſolid Tranquility is however unhappily ſuſpended by the daring and unprovoked Attacks of ſome of the Weſtern Tribes of Indians, who under the ſpecious Appearance of Friendſhip, have treacherouſly ſurprized ſome of our remote Poſts, and are in open War, renewing with relentleſs Cruelty, that Horror and Deſolation among the defenceleſs Inhabitants, from which they were ſo recently delivered.

To ſuppreſs this dangerous Defection, pregnant with the moſt fatal Evils, before it becomes more extenſive and formidable, is our indiſpenſable Duty.

The Preſervation of our own Frontier, ſhould be our firſt and immediate Care, every Motive of Policy,

[1] The General Aſſembly of New York met on the 8th of November, 1763, and on the Day following the Lieutenant Governor addreſſed to them the preceding Meſſage relating to the Indian War.

Juſtice

Juſtice and Humanity, unitedly demanding the Protection of our fellow Subjects, whoſe diſtant and diſperſed Situation muſt otherwiſe leave them an eaſy Prey to mercileſs Savages.

But barely to defend ourſelves would be giving the Enemy every Advantage, and expoſe us to perpetual diſquietude. It is neceſſary a Force ſhould be raiſed, ſufficient to chaſtiſe theſe faithleſs People, that feeling the Weight of our Reſentment, they may be awed for future by the Fear of Puniſhment; experience evincing, that deſtitute of every juſt and humane Principle, nothing elſe can ſecure us againſt their continual Ravages and Depredations.

Since then, not only the Proſperity of the Colony, but the very Exiſtence of a great Part of it, depend on the moſt active and ſpirited Meaſures, no Arguments can be wanting to animate you to a vigorous Exertion of your Strength in the Accompliſhment of this eſſential Object.

I ſhall therefore content myſelf with laying before you a Letter I received from his Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherſt, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces, preſſing this Government to furniſh a Proportion of Men, to proceed early in the Spring in conjunction with the regular Troops, on this important Service. Did the Subject require it, his ſuperior Abilities, would render it unneceſſary for me to enforce, what he ſo wiſely urges for ſubduing that reſtleſs, fierce and cruel Spirit of the Savages, the Source of the moſt dreadful Calamities.

Gentlemen of the General Aſſembly,

I flattered myſelf the ordinary Support of his Majeſty's Government, would have been the only Aid required of you at this Time. But the unexpected Revolt

Revolt of the Indians, renders a much greater Expence unavoidable. Beſides providing for the Company now poſted at Fort Ontario, Niagara and Detroit, which General Monckton, by the Advice of his Majeſty's Council, a few Days before his Departure, directed to be continued on that Service, I earneſtly recommend you will grant the neceſſary Supplies for raiſing, cloathing and paying, a Body of Forces, ſufficient with the other Troops, to avert the Dangers we fear; avenge the Injuries we have received; and convince the Savages of our Ability to compel them to Submiſſion.

Gentlemen of the Council and General Aſſembly,

The Enemy have already infeſted the Border of Orange and Ulſter, and though I am confident of the Spirit and Activity of the Militia, yet as this Duty will ſoon be too ſeverely felt, I aſſure myſelf, you will enable me to eaſe them; and by the moſt vigorous Reſolutions in this important Conjuncture, ſecure to yourſelves the great Advantages of a Peace, peculiarly calculated for the Happineſs of America.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

Fort George, New York, Nov. 9, 1763.

And then the Letter mentioned in his Honour's Speech from Sir Jeffrey Amherſt, was read, in the Words following, that is to ſay,

NEW YORK, October 30, 1763.

SIR:

ON a due Conſideration of the moſt probable Meaſures for cruſhing the preſent Inſurrection of the Indians, and puniſhing the Guilty as they deſerve, I find it abſolutely neceſſary to make Application to the Provinces moſt nearly concerned, that a reſpectable Body of Men may be raiſed, ſo as to proceed early

in the Spring, in Conjunction with ſuch regular Troops as can be collected, to put in Execution ſuch offenſive Operations as may be judged moſt effectual for reducing the Savages, and ſecuring Peace and Quiet to the Settlements hereafter.

I am in great Hopes that the Provinces to the Southward will chearfully raiſe ſuch Quotas, as may be required of them, for reducing the Delawares, Shawaneſe, and other Tribes on that Side; and as I intend to aſſemble a reſpectable Body of Men early in the Spring at Niagara, for the Puniſhment of the Senecas and other Savages on Lake Erie, &c. who have ſo treacherouſly commenced and are now carrying on Hoſtilities againſt us, I think it but reaſonable that the Provinces of New York and Jerſey, ſhould contribute their Shares towards a Service of ſo much Conſequence to the future Security of their reſpective Inhabitants; and therefore I am now to lay before you, a Requiſition, which I am perſuaded will not only meet with a proper Reception from you, but that you will enforce the ſame to your Council and Aſſembly, backed with ſuch Arguments (if any Arguments can be neceſſary on ſuch an Occaſion) as will at once remove every Obſtacle that could be ſtarted to a Compliance therewith.

The Proportion I muſt demand from your Province is fourteen hundred Men, excluſive of commiſſioned Officers, twelve hundred to be divided in four Corps of five Companys each, commanded by a Field Officer, who may have the Rank of Major; and each Company to conſiſt of a Captain, and two Subalterns and ſixty Men, including three Serjeants and three Corporals; the other two hundred to have a Field Officer, and to conſiſt of four Companies of fifty Men each, with the commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned Officers as

as above; for the Service on which they will be employed requires that there ſhould be a good many Officers; the Men to be cloathed, but in a light Manner; a cloth Jacket, flannel Waiſtcoat, Leggins, &c. will be full ſufficient; and it will be neceſſary that the whole are raiſed and ready to proceed to Albany by the firſt of March next.

But as the Settlements on the Mohawk River, are open to the Enemy, and that it is not in my Power at preſent to ſpare Regulars for their Protection, ſo much as I wiſh to do, I muſt recommend it to you, to uſe your Influence with the Aſſembly to raiſe five Companies of the above mentioned Quota with the utmoſt Expedition, that they may be poſted during the Winter, on the Communication between Albany and Oſwego, and be ready for any Service they may be called for, which may be a great Means of preventing any Incurſions that might be attempted by the Savages, and give that Confidence to the Inhabitants, which is ſo neceſſary to enable them to repel, by Force in Caſe of an Attack.

Particular Care ſhould be taken that in recruiting the Men, none ſhould be raiſed but ſuch as are able bodied; neither too young nor too old, but fit for the moſt active and alert Service.

Although by an Order from Home, the regular Troops are ſubject to a Stoppage for the Proviſions iſſued to them, belonging to the Crown, yet upon this Occaſion I will take upon me to order Proviſions to the Provincial Troops, that ſhall be raiſed and take the Field; and they ſhall likewiſe be provided with Arms, unleſs any of them chuſe to bring their own Arms, for which they ſhall have the ſame allowance as was made in former Campaigns, ſhould any of them be

loſt

loſt, or damaged in actual Service. Tents will alſo be furniſhed to them as formerly.

The Time of Service may be limited to the firſt of November, although it is much to be hoped, every Thing will be finiſhed long before that Period, in which Caſe the Men will be ſent back to the Province.

I am, with great Regard Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

JEFFREY AMHERST.

A true Copy, examined by G. Banyer, D. Sec.

Letter from Captain Gerret A. Lanſingh to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, vii.]

SIR:

AGREABLE to your Orders I have been round the Town to revue the Condition and State of the Fort, Blockhouſes, Cannon, Amanition, &c., likewiſe the Stockagadeſs; as for the Fort is but in a verry conſetreable Condition, whants a good Teal of preparing and the Blockhouſe at the Widow Van Eps at the North Side of the Town is unfit for Service, no Shimble in nor Flowr, at the Blockhouſe at Daniel De Graff at the ſouthweſt End of the town is entirely unfit for Service is ready to fall down. The Blockhouſe at Mr. Ryner Mynders whants lettle repairing. As to the Block Houſe on the South End of Albany Street is fit to keep a Wacht in, and the Block Houſe which formley uſe to ſtand at Mr. Thomas Nixſon Door is intirely takeing away and no more of, and as for Stoagadeges about the Town there is about ſeventy of them moſtly rotton; as ſor Cannon in the Fort

that belongs to it there is none fit for Service, there is no Cannon in the Block Houſes not a ſingle one, and there is a few Cannon lying up the Albany Hill unfit for Service which has been takeing out of the Fort and Blockhouſe and have been tryed by Soldier & Conductors of the Royall Artellery and is found to be condemned; as for Powder there is two Caſk of about 50 Wieght each which belongs to the Townſhip of Schenectady likewiſe 30 Wieght grave Schot and about ſeventy or eighty ſmall Hand Granades.

I am Sir

Your moſt obe^{d} hum^{bl} Serv^{t}

Gerret a Lanving Capt

To Sir Wm. Johnſon, Bar^{t}.

[*Endorſement on Back of Letter.*]

Capt. Lanſinghs Return of y^{e} State of y^{e} Blockhouſes, &c. at Schenectady.

A Return of Condition & State of the Fortification of the Townſhip of Schenectady. Novbr. 11th, 1763.

Letter from T. De Couagne to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

NIAGARA, 27th of Novbr, 1763.

SR:

I HAVE rec'd your Letter dated Novbr y^{e} 3d, 1763, wherein you write me word to be more particular or circumſtantial than hitherto. You may depend I do everything to y$_{e}$ utmoſt of my Power for my Employer

ployer, likewiſe for his Majeſtys Service, ye Troops is come back thath was going to Ditroit with ye Loſs of one hundred Men, ye got within leſs than one hundred Miles was caſt away and loſt there Ammunition was forſt to return for Want; ye had to I am inform'd, but eight Rounds a Man thath ye could not proceed & have ſpoke to ye Officer Commanding, Major Browning, about ye Indians coming in, he has give out an Order thath ye muſt not fire upon any ſmall Party of Indians upon no Account & thath on their march in ſight of ye Garriſon he ſays if ye ſhould fall in with Fort Slhoffer he cant be accountable what happens as they are daily killing our People. In yr Letter you ſay you do not underſtand what I mean by ye Voiſeagamigate, Sr he is ye chief Man North & Weſt upon Lake Ontario and ſo far upon Lake Erie as ye big River, which is ſixty Miles from Little Niagara, ye Troops goes fiſhing every Day and no body hurt. I can't promiſe the do no miſchief in there own Country but what they do otherwiſe I can not tell.

Sr, I have wrote you word before of Major Wilkins taken ſome Belts of Wampum from heare, he is come back, I have ſpoke to Colonel Browning for to gett them. In ye next Letter I ſhall ſend Word if Collonel has rec'd.

De Couagne.

Sir ye Indians is arrived this Day from Detroit which you will ye News more particular from them are ye Veſſel ſails emediately.

Letter from Aaron the Mohawk to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

FORT PITT, 1ſt Decemr, 1763.

SIR:

HAVING been ſent Expreſs by Major Gladwin from De Troite to this Place, on arriving at Sanduſky meeting with about 300 Shany and Delaware Indians, who ware at the ſame Time holding a great Counfill and by which I underſtood and was told by them the breaking out of this Warr was occaſioned by the Seneca Indians who went about with a bloody Belt and Tomahawk to all the Nations engag'd in this Troubles. The Taways alſo expreſſly told me that the Senecas were the Beginners of this Warr, they alſo deſired me (the old Men of the Delawar's & Shanees) to acquaint you that if you deſire, that they would come down to you, and ſwear before you that this Warr was begun by the Senecas. The old Men of the Wiandots Nation want very much to ſee you, and if you deſire they will come immediately, you being pleaſ'd to let them know. I had the Miſſortune to be rob'd of 4000 of Wampom, a Tamihok and all the Powder and Ball I had by the Delawar's, Shanees & the Five Nations.

Sir, Remain with great Reſpect,
Your Obedient Humble Servant.

AARON.

Letter from John Stuart[1] *to Sir William Johnſon.*

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

CHARLES TOWN, 10th December, 1763.[2]

SIR:

I AM now to acknowledge the receipt of both your Favors of 24th July and 2d September, which my being at the Congreſs with the Indians in this Diſtrict prevented my receiving and anſwering ſooner. I have a grateful Senſe of your polite and friendly Expreſſions, and ſhall cheerfully embrace every Opportunity of cultivating a Correſpondence with, and rendering you any agreeable Service. I am ſincerely ſorry for the Rupture with the Indians in your Department, which is attended with ſo much Bloodſhed and Deſolation and neceſſarily with ſo much Trouble to you.

Immediately after the Receipt of your laſt Letter, I wrote to the Cherokee Nation, to know if they would ſend ſome Parties againſt the Northern Indians according to their Propoſal to me at the Congreſs. As ſoon as I receive an Anſwer I ſhall communicate it to you. Some Officers of the Independent Companies in this Province, who are on the Point of being reduced, have offered to accompany ſuch *Cherokees* as can be prevailed upon to go and act jointly with his Majeſty's Forces againſt the Northern Tribes. It would be a delicate Point to propoſe any thing of this Nature to the *Creeks* at this Juncture, when they are apt to conſtrue every Propoſal as containing ſome hidden Deſign; the Impreſſions left on their Minds by the French, and their Jealouſy on account of the late

[1] Mr. Stuart was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department,

[2] Received Feb. 15, 1764.

Ceſſion

Ceſſion of Florida and Louiſiana, not being as yet totally effaced.

The *Chactaws* have but newly entered into the Covenant of Friendſhip with us. Their Country is a vaſt Diſtance, I ſhall endeavor as ſoon as poſſible to inform myſelf of their Diſpoſition and the Practicability of engaging them to ſend Parties as you propoſe.

The *Chickaſaws* are perpetually at War with the Northern Indians, but then they only act defenſively, being reduced to 450 Men at moſt, and ſurrounded by great Nations with whom they never are upon Terms of ſincere Friendſhip, for which Reaſon they dare not weaken themſelves by ſending out ſtrong Parties, ſo far as they are able their Friendſhip and Attachment to us may be depended upon.

The *Catawbas* are willing and brave, but reduced by War and Sickneſs to 60 or 70 Gunmen. The Northern Indians infeſted them all laſt Summer, killed and carried off ſeveral of them.

This may be depended on that I ſhall take every Meaſure to induce Parties from the Northern Nations within my Department to go and act jointly with his Majeſty's Troops employed againſt the Nations at War with us, and ſhall be extreamly glad to hear from you and receive the General's Inſtructions relative to my Conduct in this Matter.

Our Conferences at the late Congreſs ended with the moſt friendly Appearance. The Indians of every Nation went away well ſatiſfied, and made the ſtrongeſt Profeſſions of Attachment to the Britiſh Intereſt. They are all appraiſed of the War between the Northern Indians and us, but know nothing of the particular Events.

A minute Journal of the Proceedings at the Congreſs

greſs is now in the Preſs. As ſoon I can be furniſhed with a Copy for you I ſhall ſend it.

The *Taſcaroras* inhabit a Tract of 10,000 Acres of Land laid out for them in North Carolina. I have wrote to Governor Dobbs for a particular Account of them and of their Situation with reſpect to Debts or whatever elſe may hinder or retard their going to join their People. Governor Dobbs told me when at the Congreſs, that they conſiſted of about one hundred Men able to bear Arms, Women and Children in Proportion.

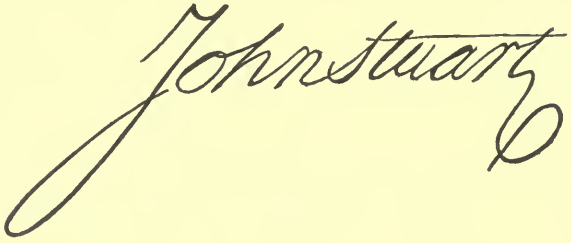
I am now to inform you, that on my return from Auguſta, I received a Letter from the Right Hon^ble^ the Lords of Trade declaratory of His Majeſty's Orders, that the Agents for Indian Affairs ſhould correſpond with their Lordſhips in all Matters regarding their Departments, and ſhould tranſmit them all ſuch Information as they ſhould require. In Conſequence they have required from me a regular and conſtant Correſpondence upon thoſe Points. Their Lordſhips have likewiſe directed me to tranſmit to them as ſoon as poſſible, a full and particular Report of the State of Indian Affairs within this Department, and an accurate Deſcription of the ſeveral Nations of Indians, their different Intereſts, Claims and Diſpoſitions and what will in my Judgment be a proper Plan for the future Management and Direction of theſe important Intereſts.

The Taſk impoſed upon us I conſider as arduous and what requires very mature Conſideration, on which I have not as yet been able to turn my Thoughts, having a multiplicity of Affairs to ſettle in conſequence of the late Congreſs, it will give me the greateſt Pleaſure to coincide with you in Opinion, but to form *a general Plan* by which a Trade to the Indian Countries may

may be at the ſame Time *well regulated* and *free* to all his Majeſty's Subjects, is not very eaſy. It will give me great Pleaſure to hear from you ſoon, being with moſt ſincere Regard,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,



Letter from T. De Couagne to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

TRANSLATION.

NIAGARA, 15th X^ber^ 1763.

SIR:

SINCE my laſt which I had the Honor of writing to you, by which I have mentioned the Accident which happened to Major Wilkin's Party which has retreated, Major Rogers arrived with his Corps and two Mohawks, Daniel and Jacob, two Days after.

The Commandant has ſent the Man named Jacob with a Ranger to Detroit, and Daniel has decided to join the Party returning with Major Rogers, to rejoin you, and who can relate to you all that has happened in theſe Parts, as well as what has become of the other Mohawk. He has told me that the Man named Ouapacamigatte a Miſſiſſague had a Paſſport from the Commandant

Commandant at Detroit to come hither with a Meſſage, and I believe it would be apropos if the Commandant would conſent that I ſhould ſend him with one or two others to ſpeak with you upon this Buſineſs. I believe that there is not here this Winter any Indian whom I could ſend for ſome Time. And I remember nothing further of which to appraiſe you. There are Parties croſſing every Day to the other Side of the River upon the Lands of the Miſſiſſagaes but they have not returned with any Scalps.

The Man named Roſſin . . . . a Seneca of whom you ſpeak in your Letter has not arrived. I have ſpoken to his two Siſters about him in a way that has flattered them much.

I have the honor to be with profound Reſpct
Sir, Your very humble and much
obliged Servant,
De Couagne.

It it impoſſible at this Moment to write to you in Engliſh, as every body is engaged, and I can not find a Secretary.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to General Gage.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 169.]

Albany, 20th Decr, 1767.

Sir:

I RETURN your Excellency, encloſ'd, the Papers you ſent me relating to ſmall Arms taken by my Order at Oſwego for the Indians in 1764—with my Certificate of the Number. Thoſe Gentlemens Accounts & Affidavits you will pleaſe to obſerve fix the Time of my ordering thoſe ſmall Arms to be taken in

1763—near twelve Months before my Arrival at Oſwego.

I am,

JNO. BRADSTREET.

His Ex. Genl. Gage, &c. &c. &c.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Major Gen. Gage.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Decr 23, 1763.

DEAR SIR:

YOUR Excellency's Favors of the 30th ult. & 1ſt of this inſt. were accompanied with two Letters from the Lords of Trade, the one of Septr and the other of October laſt, encloſing me one of the King's Proclamations, and expreſſing Approbation of His Majeſty & his Miniſter and that of their Lordſhips on my late repreſentations, as alſo his Majeſty's reliance on my Endeavors to bring Matters to a happy Iſſue, and his Orders that I ſhould cauſe the Proclamation therewith tranſmitted to be made publick and ſtrictly complied with throughout my Juriſdiction.

I am hopeful that on receipt of my laſt Letter, their Lordſhips will be able ſtill further to contribute towards the ſalutary Points in view relative to Indians as I apprehend ſome Additions may be added to the Royal Proclamation, which at preſent does not contain more with regard to them than has been already communicated to them by virtue of former Orders, &c. tranſmitted to America. This Proclamation does not relieve their preſent Grievances which are many, being calculated only to prevent the like hereafter, altho' there are numberleſs Inſtances of Tracts which have indeed

indeed been purchaſed but in the moſt illegal and fraudulent Manner, all of which demand Redreſs.

I have made at this Meeting the beſt uſe in my Power of his Majeſty's Proclamation for the convincing the Indians here of his gracious and favorable Diſpoſition to do them Juſtice, and ſhall communicate the ſame to all the reſt.

The Indians have been here for ſeveral Days to the Amount of 230, are now moſtly departed for their reſpective Nations, for which Purpoſe I have diſmiſſed them with a Preſent. They are accompanied by ſeveral of the yet friendly Senecas from *Kanadaſego*[1] as alſo by three Deputies ſent from *Chenaſſio*, to deſire to be informed of our preſent Reſolution, and to know whether the Offer of Peace which they have now made will be accepted of, in which they are ſeconded by all the reſt who earneſtly deſire the ſame might be taken into Conſideration and after repreſenting the Manner in which the Senecas of Chenaſſio had been led into the War, intimated that ſhould we now receive them into our Friendſhip the Generoſity of the Indians would cheerfully join us in any Operations againſt the reſt, particularly againſt the *Shawaneſe* and *Delawares*, whom they repreſented as the principal Authors of all the late Troubles, to which after giving them y^e^ moſt ſevere Reprimand in y^e^ Preſence of all y^e^ reſt, I anſwered them, that I could do nothing therein, but would lay the ſame before you. I muſt therefore requeſt your Direction and Sentiments thereon.

This was the chief Purport of the late Conference, the reſt of their Speeches conſiſting of a Repetition of their Promiſes and Aſſurances of their unvariable Attachment to his Majeſty.

[1] Near Geneva, Ontario County, N Y.

On

On this Subject I muſt beg leave to offer my Opinion that the 5 friendly Nations muſt naturally be very uneaſy at any Attempt againſt the Senecas, as they are a Part of their Confederacy, however juſtly they may deſerve our Reſentment, but I am confident that the whole would readily joyn againſt their perfidious Dependents, the *Shawaneſe* and *Delawares*, as well as any others who have acted as Principals in the War. The Hurons of Detroit from the concurring Accounts of all Perſons were with the utmoſt Difficulty and by ſevere Threats, perſuaded to engage in the War by the Ottawas under Pondiac, who with the before mentioned *Shawaneſe* and *Delawares* have ſufficiently ſhown themſelves as Principals in the War.

I imagine that any Hoſtilities committed in or about Pennſylvania and Jerſey muſt be done by the Delawares.[1] All thoſe of that Nation who have lately become our Enemies, have lately removed from the Suſquehanna to the Ohio amongſt the Shawaneſe, and thoſe who remain on or about the Suſquehanna, particularly from its Source down to *Owegy* are our friends, and here I cannot help remarking that the abſurdity of moſt of the Acc'ts received from the Provinces is apt to give a very unjuſt Idea of Ind^{n} Affairs. For inſtance, in one of the late New York papers you muſt have obſerved it is inſinuated that a Party who defeated Capt. *Weſtbrook* on the Borders of *Penſilvania* conſiſted of Mohocks, which they pretended to know from their Caps, and Manner of cutting their Hair. The Fidelity of the Mohocks deſerves a better Return, and the Folly of ſuch Repreſentations ſhould certainly be removed, leaſt it come to the Knowledge of our

[1] The following Sentence is here interlined in the original Draft without apparent Connection with the Text: "*Wyalooſin* is an Indian Town a conſiderable Diſtance from any Settlement."

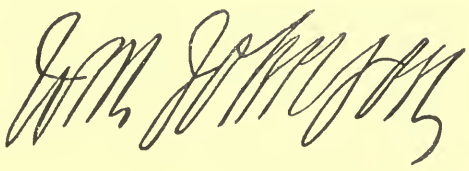
friendly

friendly Tribes who might entertain much Rancor from ſuch a Falſity. The Mohocks do not wear Caps, nor any Nation of the Confederacy except the Senecas and ſome Cayugas, the former learned that Practice from their vicinity to *Niagara*, where ſuch were uſually worn during the Winter, neither are the Authors of that Paragraph or any other Perſons capable of diſtinguiſhing one of theſe Caps from another or knowing to what Nation it belonged any more than they are of diſcerning one Blanket from another.

The Houſe of Aſſembly have been very moderate in their Reſolves. I have received from the Lieutenant Governor in conſequence thereof ſome blank Commiſſions for raiſing two Companies of 50 Men each to be ſtationed at *Schohare* and *Cherry Valley* which I ſhall give to ſuch Perſons as I ſhall judge beſt qualified to anſwer their Intention.

I am informed by Letter from Niagara that Wabbicommicot, Chief of the numerous Nation of the Chipeweighs who accompanied me to the Detroit in 1761, and has ſince behaved very well on his Part and prevented Numbers of his People from joyning againſt us, propoſes to viſit me ſhortly on public Buſineſs, which if he does, or that I am attended by any other diſt^{t} or Enemy Indians, indeed I ſhall be glad to have your Sentiments concerning my Behavior on that Occaſion and in what Manner you think it most neceſſary to treat them.

I am, &c.



Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Lieut. Gov. Colden.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Decr 24th, 1763.

DEAR SIR:

I AM juſt favored with your Letter of the 7th Inſt. encloſing me two Captain's Warrants & 2 Commiſſions as alſo three Lieutenants Warrants & 4 Commiſſions, from which I conclude that 'twas a Lieuts Warrant which was given to Mr. *Ten Eyke*. The reſt of the Warrants ſhall be given to ſuch Perſons as I judge will anſwer the public Expectations in the moſt expeditious and moſt effectual Manner. The Companies when raiſed ſhall be muſtered agreable to your Directions, but the ſmall pay of the Officers in a Country where People are accuſtomed to high Wages and where Men are now raiſing by Col. Bradſtreet at much higher Rates, will I fear greatly retard their completing, and I am a good deal ſurpriſed how your Letter and encloſures could have been ſo long by the Way.

The Indians who had been with me from all the 6 Nat^{s} for ſeveral Days are juſt departing for their reſpective Habitations. They numbered 230, and were accompanied by ſeveral of the yet friendly Senecas from *Kanadaſego* as alſo by three Deputies ſent from the *Chenuſſio* requeſting to be informed of our preſent Reſolutions and to know whether Offers of Peace will be accepted of or not. In this they were ſeconded by the reſt of the Nations who after repreſenting the Manner in which the *Enemy Senecas* had been drawn into the War, intimated that ſhould they now be received into our Friendſhip the whole of the Six Nations

tions would heartily joyn us againſt the reſt of our Enemies particularly againſt the Shawaneſe and Delawares whom they repreſented as the principal Authors of all the late Troubles, and I know the Diſpoſition of theſe People ſo well as to foreſee that any Attempt againſt the Senecas muſt naturally create uneaſineſs amongſt the reſt of the Confederacy, particularly the Cayugas and Onondagas who are more connected with them than any of y^e^ reſt.

I have juſt received two Letters from the Lords of Trade (one dated in Septr the other in October laſt) encloſing me the King's Proclamation and expreſſing the Approbation of his Majeſty and his Miniſters and that of their Lordſhips on my late Repreſentations as alſo his Majeſty's Reliance on my Endeavors to bring Matters to a happy Iſſue, and his royal Orders that I ſhould cauſe the Proclamation therewith tranſmitted to publiſhed and ſtrictly complied with throughout my Juriſdiction, and I am hopeful that within a ſmall Period of Time things may be ſettled on a ſtill more ſatiſfactory Plan.

I am a Stranger to what Cauſe the Aſſembly attribute the unhappy Rupture, which is not a general Defection of the Six Nations as is inſiſted, nor indeed of any others except y^e^ Shawneſe, ſome of the Ottawaes and Chippawaies, alſo Delawares. I ſhall not take upon me to point out the original Parſimony, &c. to which the firſt Defection of the Indians can with Juſtice and Certainty be attributed but only obſerve as I did in a former Letter that the Indians (whoſe Friendſhip was never cultivated by the Engliſh with that Attention, Expenſe and Aſſiduity with which the French obtained their Favors) were for many Years jealous of our growing Power, were repeatedly aſſured by the French (who were at the Pains of having many proper

proper Emiſſaries among them) that ſo ſoon as we became Maſters of this Country we ſhould immediately treat them with Neglect, hem them in with Poſts and Forts, encroach upon their Lands and finally deſtroy them, all which after the Reduction of Canada ſeemed to appear too clearly to the Indians who thereby loſt the great Advantages reſulting from the Poſſeſſion which the French formerly had of Poſts and Trade in their Country, neither of which they could have ever enjoyed but for the Notice they took of the Indians and the Preſents they beſtowed ſo bountifully upon them, which however expenſive they wiſely foreſaw was infinitely cheaper and much more effectual than the keeping of a large Body of regular Troops in their ſeverall Countries which however conſiderable could not protect Trade or cover Settlements, but muſt remain cooped up in their Garriſons or elſe be expoſed to the Ambuſcades & Surpriſes of an Enemy over whom from the Nature and Situation of their Country no important Advantage can be gained.

From a Senſe of theſe Truths the French choſe the moſt reaſonable and moſt promiſing Plan, a Plan which has endeared their Memory to moſt of the Indian Nations who would I fear generally go over to them in Caſe they ever got Footing again in this Country, and who were repeatedly exhorted and encouraged by the French (from Motives of Intereſt and Diſlike which they will always poſſeſs) to fall upon us by repreſenting that their Liberties and Country were in y^e^ utmoſt Danger and that a Fleet and Army, was arrived at Quebec, and an Army coming by way of the Miſſiſſippi to their Aſſiſtance, all which the Indians were perſuaded to credit until their Meſſengers ſent to the Ilinois returned and contradicted the Report ſo induſtriouſly propagated by the French, which imediately ſtruck at our Trade, gave

gave them ſome diſtant Hopes of a reëſtabliſhment by embroiling our Affairs and drew down the valuable Fur Trade by the way of the Ilyones & Miſſiſſipi and the Indˢ once embarked in the Quarrel were eaſily induced by their Succeſs and Advantages of Plunder to continue their Ravages. In the midſt of which however I have the Satiſfaction to find that my unwearied Labors hath hitherto preſerved the whole Confederacy (Chenuſſeos excepted) with many other Nations and thereby ſecured this very important Communication to the Lakes, alſo that by the River St. Lawrence, together with theſe Weſtern Frontiers from the Fate which hath attended the neighboring Colonies, to effect theſe important Ends, as I have ſacrificed all my Tranquility and domeſtic Concerns ſo I have the Pleaſure to find myſelf rewarded in the favorable Sentiments with which his Majeſty and the Miniſtry have been lately pleaſed to expreſs themſelves concerning my Labors for the public Welfare.

The preſent unhappy Rupture was long foreſeen and frequently repreſented by me, but I had the Mortification to find that it did not meet with ſufficient Credit, which Neglect at length brought on the Calamities in which we are involved and from which I apprehend we can never be free unleſs we remove the Jealouſies which the Indˢ entertain of us, and purchaſe their Friendſhip with Favors and Notice, which Friendſhip once obtained and eſtabliſhed will enable us to withdraw our Expenſes by imperceptible Degrees.

Theſe are my Sentiments on the preſent State of Indian Affairs and the Cauſes to which the Hoſtilities are certainly to be attributed and I hope they may tend to the further Information of any who may be deſirous to enquire into the Subject.

The Petition which you ſent me I was informed of

ſome Time ago and that Geo: Klock a Perſon of an infamous Character at Conajoharie had made it his Buſineſs to procure it ſigned by ſev[l] Perſons (the greater Part of whom I know to be his Relations and Retainers, and his own Name is eraſed at the Head of them) whom he perſuaded thereto on Promiſe of Rewards and of procuring them Commiſſions, which the ignorant People readily believed, I have however ſent for the Officers complained of and ſhall tranſmit you my further Inquiries therein.

I am Sir, &c,

Letter from the Rev. Samuel Dunlop[1] to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

CHERRY VALLEY, Decem[r] 25th, 1763.

HONOURED Sr:

NOT Reflecting upon you, becauſe perhaps the Matter does not lye alltogether within the compaſs of your Power, we the Inhabitants of Cherry Valley, think we are deſerted, we hope not of God, but we think in a great Meaſure of Man, and expoſed to the mercyleſs Inſults of our Enemies without Covert or Relief.

[1] In 1738, John Lindeſay and others procured a Patent of 8000 Acres in what is now Cherry Valley, and ſoon after Mr. L. met in New York the Rev. Samuel Dunlop and prevailed on him to viſit the Tract, offering him ſeveral hundred Acres upon Condition of his uſing his Influence with his Friends to ſettle upon the Land. The Propoſition was accepted and Mr. Dunlop viſited Londonderry in New Hampſhire, where ſeveral of his Acqaintances reſided, and induced Numbers to emigrate to the new Tract. Mr. D. was a Native of the North of Ireland, and had traveled quite extenſively in the Colo-

You

You know General Amherſt was condemned for not making ſome Proviſion for the Safety of the Inhabitants by covering the Frontiers, and it was expected when he reſigned that General Gadge and your Honour, or the Perſons to whom the Care and Management of theſe Things were committed (you know beſt who they were) wou'd have made an alteration before now. But Things ſeem to remain in ſtatu quo, with the poor and unhappy Fronteers and the Council of the Heathen held ſome Time agoe ſeems to have had its accompliſhment againſt all the Places they intended, us only in this Quarter eſcaped. Matters appear darker and darker with us, and the Time now ſeems to be at Hand to fetch us the intended Blow, and Schoharry's being warned off we take to be a bad Omen of our aproaching Ruin.

And if Man neither can nor will help us, may Allmighty God, either ward off the Blow or endow us with that Firmneſs of Spirit that may make us bear the Thoughts of Death without Amazement, and bring our Minds to an equal Poize between the ſtrong Inclinations of Nature to live, and the Dictates of Reaſon and Religion that ſhould make us willing to die when he pleaſes.

Death and a deſtroying Enemy may curtail a few Years of this mortal Life, from thoſe of us that are old,

nies, particularly in the South. He left Ireland under an Engagement of Marriage which he returned and fulfilled. He opened a School for the Inſtruction of Boys, at Cherry Valley, and has the Honor of beginning the firſt Grammar School Weſt of Albany within this State.

In the memorable Maſſacre of November 11, 1778, Mr. Dunlop's Wife was killed, but himſelf and Daughter were ſpared by Little Aaron, a Mohawk of the Aquago Branch. He was releaſed ſoon after, but the combined Effects of Age, Fear, and Cold, led to a Decline, which terminated in Death about a Year after.—*Campbell's Hiſtory of Tryon Co.*

but

but thanks be to God can never deſtroy our immortal Life. But it's a Pity the young and riſing Generation ſhould be cutt off, and the Hand of the Heathen embrewed in their Blood, who if ſpared, might make ſome Figure in the World and be uſefull to Generations to come, and therefore, if you can mediate any Timous Relief I beg you may.

For it is but a poor Redreſs to come to our Aſſiſtance when dead, and to bury our ma[n]gled Corps when we are gone, which is but too often the ſenſeleſs Cuſtom of the Country where we live, tho tis the beſt Redreſs the Caſe will then admit of. But the Matter is to ſecure againſt the Blow beforehand and therefore once more I would beg of you Honourable Sr that you would mediate ſome Relief for us, or ſome way to ſecure us if in your Power before it be too late. And if we fall, as Chriſt prayed for his Enemies, Father forgive them for they know not what they do, ſo I pray God our Blood may never be laid to their Charge who had it in their Power to help us and did it not. Pleaſe to give my kind Compliments to Capt. Guy Johnſon & all your good Family. I add no more, but remain Sr your

Humble Supplicant,

Sam.l Dunlop

Letter from Sir William Johnſon to Lieutenant Governor Colden.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Decr 30, 1763.

DEAR SIR:

YESTERDAY I was favored with your Letter of the 19th Inſt. in anſwer to mine of the 5th.

I have received particular Information of all the late Tranſactions at the *Detroit*, as well from the Officers as from one of the Mohocks (whom with others I ſent there to be of any Service in their Power), who is juſt returned from thence charged with ſeveral Belts, &c. to me.

As the chief Cauſe of the Hoſtilities committed by the Indians was intended to procure themſelves Redreſs of ſome Wrongs, and to obtain a better treatment, together with occaſional Gifts and Rewards, for the admitting Poſts in their Country, I am of Opinion their Offers of Peace ariſe principally from an Expectation that they will for the Future obtain theſe deſired Ends which they could not get by any other Means than by having recourſe to Arms, having found all amicable Proceedings ineffectual.

For this Reaſon I conclude they have made their late Offers, and I likewiſe believe they would abide by their Promiſes if we for the Future gratify their Expectations, but I am fully convinced they will never preſerve Peace on any other Terms.

They know their own Strength and Situation too well to be as yet apprehenſive of our Reſentment, and they will never want Ammunition whilſt the French can ſupply them by the Variety of Communications open

open to the weſtern Indians and beyond our Power to ſhut.

The Five Nations have had no Occaſion to alter their Behavior, which as it has ſaved this Communication and the Frontiers of this Part of y^e^ Province, juſtly entitled them to all neceſſary Supplies for themſelves; more they did not require, nor are they ſo well affected to theſe Nations who have made War upon us as to give them any Ammunition even tho' they had plenty. Indeed the Indians are very chary of Powder, and although they often waſte it when they have plenty (yet that has not been ſince the Surrender of Canada) yet they are not ſo weak as to part with it to others, beſides they have never had more than a bare ſufficiency, often expended before their hunting Seaſon was near over.

If therefore they ſhould be denied Ammunition it would immediately confirm them in the Sentiments which greatly contributed to produce the Defection of the reſt, and would counteract all my Endeavors to remove that too general Opinion for the ſuſpecting their Sincerity w^d^ make them dangerous Enemies, and of this I have had repeated Experience.

I wrote you pretty fully in mine of 24th by which you will ſee the Difficulties which may ariſe in puniſhing the *Chenaſſios* and the Advantages which will attend our turning our Arms againſt the reſt of our Enemies, which will equally anſwer the important Purpoſe of giving them a juſt Idea of our Abilities and Reſentment.

As I am well acquainted with the Inclinations of the friendly Indians I know the lengths they are to be truſted on the Article of Ammunition, of which I am certain they will make no bad Uſe. It is an Article ſo hard to be procured here, that I have not had it in my

my Power to give them what they ſtood in y^e^ greateſt need of, and the Trade being now over they can have little if any from that Quarter, altho' I muſt confeſs the Danger they have run from the Attachment to which we have hitherto own the Safety of theſe Parts ſufficiently merits ſuch a Return from us as will ſhew them that they are not loſers by their Fidelity.

From what I have heard from the Senecas, as well as from the good Diſpoſition of the reſt, I ſhould be induced to hope that that theſe Frontiers might enjoy a State of Tranquility, at leaſt for a Time, but as this muſt be very uncertain (eſpecially if the Peace offered by the Senecas is not accepted of), I apprehend the two Companies for theſe Frontiers may not be amiſs but I fear they cannot be eaſily raiſed at this Time, as I have offered the Warrants to ſev^l^ who declined accepting of them, by Reaſon of the lowneſs of the Officer's Pay, and the Bounty now offered in Albany, &c. for raiſing Men for other Service. Be aſſured I ſhall give you imediate Notice in caſe there appears a Proſpect for compleating them, at well as give you any further Intelligence which may come to my Knowledge worthy your Information, and I have a particular Pleaſure in aſſuring you how much I am,

Dr Sir, &c.

Memorial of Indian Traders.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

[Copy.]

TO his Excellency Thomas Gage, Commander-in-Chief of His Majeſty's Forces in America, &c. &c.

May it pleaſe your Excellency as we conceive ſome Hopes from the Accounts we have from D'troit of having a Peace with the Indians in the Spring, and as your Excellency has the ordering of every thing on the Continent, knowing your Inclination of ſerving every Perſon to the utmoſt of your Power, and your Excellency's Deſire ſtrictly to adhere to the good of his Majeſty's Subjects, we humbly beg leave to Petition your Excellency and repreſent to you the Miſfortunes we have labored under from the Plunder that was made by the Indians at the Time that the Forts were ſurpriſed, and to hint to you what we think may be to our private Advantage without any Detriment to the Nation and wherein our Loſſes may be in ſome Meaſure repaid without any Retardment to the publick Peace. According to the Cuſtom of Trading ſeveral Indian Nations having taken up Goods upon Credit to a very conſiderable amount, and are all of them capable of making Payment for the ſame, ſome of them having heard nothing of the Indian Warr had brought their Peltrys to Diſcharge their Debts, but on ſeeing the Diſtreſs we were in their good Intentions were laid aſide and they took a Part with our Enemies. Theſe are the Indians who have been moſt diſtreſſed during the Time the Warr has continued, and we hear are moſt deſirous of bringing Things to an End. The Ottawas, the Chipaways, the Miamis, the Pouteoutamis,

Saguinaw, Iroquis, &c. with all the Indians who trade on Lake Superior. If your Excellency thinks proper, when they propoſe Terms of Peace, to mention to them to pay their Debts, if your Excellency thinks it will be no Detriment to the Publick Good it will make us ſome Retalliation for the exceſſive Loſſes we have ſuſtained, will put us again on a good Footing for Trade and will relieve from great Diſtreſs your Excellency's Petitioners, and moſt dutiful & obed^{t} Serv^{ts}. Signed,

JA'S HOWARD, HEN'Y BOSTWICK,
JNO. CHINN, FORREST OUTRES,
EDWD CHINN, GORSEN LEVY,
JAMES STANLY GODDARD, HOLMES & MEMSEN.

Dated 30th Dec^{r} 1763.

Letter from T. De Couagne to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

SIR:

I HAVE the Honor to acquaint you on the 20th of Nov^{r} I got hear from the Seneke Caſtles the Chiefs promiſed me that they would ſend the Horſes here. The Seneke Indians comes in evry Day, brings in Bevers and Venniſon and behaves very well, as alſo the Miſſaſagoes. I have no more to add, but if any thing happen ſhall inform you, ſo conclude.

Y^{r} moſt hum^{l} Serv^{t} to command.

DE COUAGNE.

Niagara, Jan'ry 4th, 1764.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Lieut. Gov. Colden.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Jan'y 12th, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

A GREAT Indiſpoſition under which I have labored for ſeveral Days, and from which I am not yet recovered, prevented my anſwering your Favor of the 28th ult° ſooner.

In my Letter of the 30th ult° I gave you my Sentiments on the Reaſons which induced the Indians to propoſe an Accommodation, as alſo concerning the Article of Ammunition, repreſenting that none received any but thoſe on whoſe Confidence I might perfectly rely and to whom a Refusal might prove of dangerous Conſequence, and that even the trifle of Ammunition which they received was too little and too much valued by them to part with. In my Letter of the 24th ult° I acquainted you with the Occaſion of my having been viſited by the 5 Nations accompanied by ſome Seneca Deputies.

Laſt Week arrived here ſeveral of the Senecas on the ſame Errand as before, whom I acquainted that I was not as yet authorized to treat with them on Terms of Peace, they were followed by the 5 Nations amounting to near 300, who came to repeat their Offers of taking ſuch ſteps againſt our Enemies as I ſhould direct, to which I have aſſured them in the beſt Manner I could. But theſe Senecas having come contrary to my Deſire and not being deſirous to give any Satiſfaction farther than a Promiſe of aſſiſting us againſt the reſt, I have accordingly diſmiſſed them until I hear from General Gage. I however apprehended a white Man now amongſt them, and who was formerly delivered

livered up but went back to the Indians and has had as I am informed the Treachery to act againſt us in the late Operations of our Enemies particularly at Niagara Carrying Place, I ſhall therefore commit him to Jail.

The Generality of the People have certainly great Reaſon to be irritated againſt the Indians, and I am glad to find ſuch a Spirit of Alertneſs as you expreſs amongſt them, tho' I fear they will not find it an eaſy Matter to puniſh thoſe who really deſerve it, and the falling upon thoſe yet our Friends and who are conſequently not aware of any ſuch Deſign, would I apprehend be very imprudent as well as diſagreeable to you ſince it muſt inevitibly involve us in a general Quarrel.

The general Thirſt for Revenge ſo juſtly raiſed amongſt our People may without proper Inſtructions direct itſelf to a wrong Quarter as was lately the caſe in *Penſilvania*, to prevent which, as well as to promote the Succeſs of all the hearty Volunteers I muſt obſerve that the greateſt Part of our Enemies are removed a great way up the Cayuga or Tohicon [?] Branch of *Suſquehanna*. Thoſe of *Wawilooſin* (our Friends) are gone chiefly to Philadelphia and the reſt are removed to *Chughnot* on the *Suſquehanna*, ſo that our Enemies chiefly reſide from Diaoga[1] up that Branch, viz[t] *Singſink*, *Pepiquaghquey*, &c. The meeting of theſe our Enemies is very uncertain, as they have not made any long Reſidence at any Place ſince the Commencement of Hoſtilities, but the Indians of Caneſtio, a Village between Chenuſſio & Fort Auguſta, who are chiefly Renegadoes of profligate Fellows from ſev[l] Nations, & who murdered the two Traders in Nov[r] 1762,[2] are

[1] Tioga.

[2] Upon learning of theſe Murders Sir William Johnſon ſent up Lieut. Johnſon to attend a Meeting very

very proper Subjects of our Resentment and have been Principals in carrying on Hostilities.

I heartily wish that whatever Party goes out, may be able to strike such a Blow as will give the Indians in general a good Opinion of our Abilities, but to give any Hopes of Success in my Opinion it will be necessary that they should at least consist of 400 Men, and those expert and well qualified for the Service, acquainted with the Woods and furnished with Snow Shoes and all other necessary Articles. The distressing and annoying the Enemy in Winter if well conducted must prove very useful. I am now preparing some Parties of trusty Indians for that Purpose of which I hope the General will approve.

As the Trade by Reason of the War hath been at an end for some Time I apprehend it will not be thought advisable to grant any Passes till Matters are better settled, whenever that may happen I am humbly of Opinion that you will judge it necessary the Traders should give Security for their fair Dealings, and also be permitted to trade at the principal Posts only, as *Fort Stanwix*, *Ontario*, *Niagara*, &c. At these Posts they will be in the most security and their Conduct can be best enquired into, which if justly blameable and so represented by the com^dg^ Officer they may forfeit their Recognizance, for the indulging them in a liberty of trading in the Indian's Country or at their Castles, will always produce Complaints from the latter, of Frauds and Extortion, as well as render the Traders liable to be murdered, and their Effects seized on any future Quarrel which may happen.

called at Onondaga to insist on the immediate Apprehension of the guilty Parties, but the upper Nations did not attend and the rest of the Indians could do nothing but promise that if the Senecas did not apprehend the Murderers they would themselves go in quest of them— *Letters of Sir William Johnson to Lieut. Colonel Wm. Eyre and Gov. Monckton.*

With

With ſome Difficulty I have got Perſons to accept of the Warr^ts^ for raiſing the 2 Companies for the Security of this Frontier, and I am juſt now informed they are almoſt compleated with good Men. I ſhall accordingly have them muſtered and report to you thereon.

As Lt. Johnſon, who by his Majeſty's Proclamation is entitled to a Grant of Land, is deſirous to know the Limits within which you conſider the ſame may be granted, I muſt requeſt the Favour of your informing me on that Head, alſo your Directions concerning the Steps he is to take therein and whether he is entitled to his Share as Captain of the Provincials in 1758, or is to abide by his Title as Lieut. of the Independent Companies.

I am with very perfect eſteem, &c.

P. S. I have great Reaſon to apprehend that many mercenary Perſons inhabiting along the River ſell Ammunition and other Articles to the Senecas, I could heartily wiſh you could interpoſe your Authority to prevent the like for the Future.

Letter from Sir William Johnſon to the Commanding Officers of the New York Provincials at German Flats.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

Johnson Hall, Jan'y 19th, 1764.

Sir:

AS ſome Deputies from the Senecas, our Enemies, who have been here with a Meſſage from their Nation to me, are now returning Home and being probably not ſo well diſpoſed as they pretend, may be induced

duced to do ſome Miſchief at or about the German Flatts, theſe are therefore to deſire you will be ſufficiently on your guard to prevent them, and in Caſe they ſhould attempt Injury the Perſons or Properties of the Inhabitants or the Troops under your Command, you will immediately ſeize upon them (taking Care that none eſcape) and ſend them down Priſoners to Albany, under a ſtrong Guard, ſufficient to prevent them from getting off.

In Caſe you find it neceſſary to take this Step it will require the utmoſt Precaution to be taken to prevent the greater Part of them from eſcaping, which will in a great Meaſure defeat the Deſign propoſed by making them Priſoners.

I am Sir your moſt humble Servt.

P. S. The Inhabitants will enable you to diſtinguiſh the Senecas, who are upwards of 20, but it will not be prudent to mention my Name as the Occaſion of their being apprehended at this Juncture. Should any of the Inhabitants ſell them any Ammunition, Clothing or other Neceſſaries, you will immediately give me Notice thereof, and alſo prevent them for the Future from trading with any Indians who have been in Arms againſt the Engliſh.

Letter from John Stuart to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

Charles Town, 16th January, 1764.

Sir:

SINCE my laſt of 10th December I have not had the Pleaſure of hearing from you.

I have not as yet received any Information about the

the Tuſcarora Indians, as ſoon as I do, you may depend on its being communicated to you.

On the 24th ultimo 14 of our back Settlers upon Long Cane River were murdered, and we have ſince found out by ſeven Creeks, who for ſome Years paſt reſided in the Cherokee Nation. The Creeks have ſent me a Talk upon the Occaſion and diſclaim the Murder and the Murderers, who ſay they, the Cherokees ought to kill to ſhow their Innocence. I have ſent off Talks to all the Nations within my Diſtrict, but I muſt acquaint you that in this Department every Governor acts as if he were ſole Agent, they will hardly be directed by each other and do not conſult me, ſo that it is odds but we counteract each other; this requires ſome Regulation.

By next Opportunity I will write you fully, it being my Intention to keep you regularly informed of the Occurrences within the Department.

I am with great Reſpect,
Sir, your moſt obedient
Humble Servant,
JOHN STUART.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Lieut. Gov. Penn.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Jany 20th, 1764.

SIR:

I HAD the Favor of your Letter of the 31ſt ult. and fifth of this inſt., together with the Encloſures, and I heartily congratulate you on your Arrival to your Government, wiſhing that your Appointment may prove to your entire Satiſfaction.

The

The Steps you have taken to diſcover thoſe raſh Offenders were certainly very judicious as well as highly neceſſary and I am hopefull they may be attended with Succeſs for bringing them to Juſtice.

I apprehend that after their firſt Offence in murdering the 6 Indians at Coneſtoga their miſtaken Reſentment would have ended, and that firſt Act was ſufficient to create much uneaſineſs amongſt all the Indians, but their laſt public Inſult to the Laws and the Government itſelf certainly demands the moſt ſtrict Enquiry as well as the ſevereſt Puniſhment.

You may be aſſured I ſhall uſe every Argument with the Six Nations, for removing the unfavorable Ideas which they muſt certainly entertain of ſuch a Proceeding, as well as to ſatisfy them that your Government highly diſapproves of it and will ſeverely puniſh the Offenders, but I am aware of their Sentiments on the Subject and [am] greatly apprehenſive it will ſtagger the Affections of the 5 hitherto well affected Nations, who conſider the Indians of your Government as connected with them and under their Protection, and as the murdered have been all along peaceably inclined, the friendly Indians in theſe Parts may be induced to doubt our Faith and Sincerity toward themſelves from the unhappy Fate of our late Friends in Pennſilvania, which will cauſe them to expect the ſame Treatment whenever it is in our Power to deſtroy them. This I fear may greatly check the Ardor they have lately expreſſed to me of aſſiſting us againſt our Enemies and even ſpirit up many to obtain Revenge within your Government.

The Threats which the riotous Parties have ſince thrown out, that they would deſtroy the Indians in the Neighborhood and under the Protection of Philadelphia, ſavors ſo much of Madneſs that I cannot acc't for

for them. Your gratifying the Indians Requeſt thereon of coming to me muſt therefore appear pleaſing to them, but I have juſt received a Letter from Lieut. Gov. *Colden* informing me that the Council "have adviſed him not to admit them into this Province." This will probably prevent me from ſeeing them, and I heartily wiſh their return back may not expoſe them to freſh Inſults, which would certainly occaſion a general Defection.

Several Deputies from the Enemy Senecas have been lately with me here, making ſome friendly Offers of Peace, but I am convinced that nothing but a good Treatment accompanied with occaſional Favors will ever enſure a laſting Peace from the jealous Sentiments which our Enemies entertain of the Engliſh and the Preſents the French have accuſtomed them to, for the Toleration the Indians afforded them in their Country inſomuch that any future Neglect on our Parts will immediately produce a diſcontent and apprehenſion of our Deſigns which will inevitably occaſion a renewal of Hoſtilities, ſo that a Peace made with theſe People without proper ſubſequent Steps to remove theſe Jealouſies and eſtabliſh a good Opinion with the Indians is always liable to be violated to the great Detriment of Trade and the certain Deſtruction of the Frontier Inhabitants wth their Dwellings, and the Expence in which the Crown muſt be involved to ſuppreſs ſuch Devaſtations will certainly am^{t} to a much greater Sum (indep^{t} of the Loſs the Provinces muſt ſuſtain) than would conciliate the Affections of the Ind^{s} and enable us to extend our Settlements and Trade with the utmoſt Security.

I heartily wiſh that the Law you have propoſed may be agreed to by the *Aſſembly*, as it appears to me highly

neceſſary and eſſential as well to the Credit as the Safety of the Province.

I am with great Eſteem
Sir, Your moſt obed^{t} humble Serv^{t}

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Lieut. Col. Eyre.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Jany 29th, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I THANK you for your intereſting Letter of the 7th Inſt. which I would have ſooner anſwered but for the Buſineſs in w^{ch} I have been engaged for this Fortnight paſt with a large Number of the 5 Nations and ſome Seneca Deputies.

It would have given me much Pleaſure to have ſeen you on your Return from *Niagara*. I diſpatched a Letter in anſwer to yours, with Directions that it might be left at *Ontario* till you came back, which I hope you received altho' I underſtand you did not return by that Poſt.

I cannot but coincide in Opinion with you on the greateſt Part of what you have mentioned on Ind^{n} Affairs, and I could wiſh for the good of the Public that every Perſon had been of the ſame way of thinking, which might have proved a Means of preventing the many Loſſes we have lately felt.

The Cauſes to which the Defection of the Indians may be attributed are: Firſt. Their Jealouſy of our growing Power, and occupancy of the Outpoſts where they neither met with the ſame Treatment nor reaped any of the Advantages which they enjoyed in the Time of the French. Secondly. The Reports induſtriouſly propogated

propogated by many of the French, tending to ſet our Deſigns in the moſt odious Light and to repreſent the Indians as being on the Brink of being enſlaved.

It will not appear extraordinary that the French who had purchaſed the Indˢ Favour at a high Price ſhould obtain Credit from ſuch a Repreſentation, eſpecially when there were but too many concurring Circumſtances to ſtrengthen the Belief of a People naturally credulous and jealous of their Liberties. The Indians began with Remonſtrances, repreſented many Grievances and demanded Redreſs. Their Complaints I communicated from Time to Time with my Sentiments and Apprehenſions thereon, but the inconſiderable Opinion too univerſally entertained, of their ſmall Power and Abilities occaſioned it to be treated with Neglect. To particularize all their Complaints would exceed the Bounds of a Letter; it will be ſufficient to obſerve that I declared it as my Opinion that the Indians would not be totally neglected, but that (after redreſs of their Grievances) we ſhould cultivate to the utmoſt of our Power a good Underſtanding with them, at leaſt until we became more formidable and our Frontiers better eſtabliſhed, and this I thought we could effect at an Expenſe infinitely leſs than any other Method, and on Principles the beſt adapted for ſecuring Peace, promoting Trade and encreaſing our Frontiers.

The Expence, Difficulty and Dangers attending other Expedients, the ſtagnation of Trade, deſtruction of our Poſts and Frontiers, and the ſmall Advantages to be gained by a War with us, are now obvious to moſt People, and are ſo well repreſented in your Letter that they need not to be enlarged upon.

The Difficulty and even Impoſſibility of ſecuring our Communications or maintaining our Outpoſts contrary

contrary to the Indians Inclinations is very clear to me, but I am pretty certain we can purchaſe all theſe Advantages and ſecure their Inclinations by a proper Treatment which will gain us a ſufficient Credit with them, and awe of this Country, as it will remove all their Prejudices and which no other Steps can effect. The inland ſmall Poſts don't appear to me very neceſſary, they are too great a Temptation to the Ind^{s} whenever they are induced to quarrel, and from their Diſtance and difficulty of obtaining Succours muſt always fall into their Hands. The ſame Reaſons induce me to think, that the Perſons and Property of Traders would be ſafe amongſt them, for whilſt there are any French there, they will certainly thro' Jealouſy promote a Quarrel, and even were there none there the Expence of tranſporting Goods is ſo great, that they muſt ſell at a Price which would not be agreable to the Indians as well as be guilty of many Frauds not in the Power of an Officer to diſcover or prevent. Whereas the Indians (who think little of going a great way to purchaſe Neceſſaries) would find them cheaper at our large Poſts, and the Traders would be leſs expoſed to Riſque.

Wherever we can have a good Communication by Water, we might tolerably well maintain Poſts, and if ſome ſmall Veſſels are kept up on *Lake Erie*, *Detroit* or even *Michilimackinac* might be kept up, the latter being well ſituated for drawing down the northern Furs. After all that can be ſaid, we ſhall be liable to many Broils, till the French Inhabitants and Jeſuits are removed, the latter (being no longer a Society in France) we might very well appropriate their Lands to his Majeſty's Uſe. I dare ſay they would be ſufficient to endow a *Biſhoprick* in Canada, and for good Miſſionaries, and I imagine an Epiſcopal Foundation in that Country

Country would greatly contribute to bring over the French, and make good Subjects of them in Time.

The late Offers of Peace made by ſome of the Nations has been greatly promoted by the Attachment the 5 *Nations*, *Indians of Canada*, &c. have manifeſted during the Courſe of the War, which makes our Enemies dread they will accompany our Troops againſt them in the Spring, for they have much more Reaſon to fear Indians than the beſt Troops in the World.

Indeed the beforement[d] Nations have made me ſo many Offers of Service that I have no doubt of their Sincerity, and I am now ſending out a conſiderable Party of *Oneidas* and *Tuſcaroras* who I hope will greatly diſtreſs our Enemies, as well as convince them that we are not without *Allies* of their own ſort. This will likewiſe contribute to diſunite them, a Circumſtance too important to be neglected.

Whenever the preſent unhappy Trouble ſhall be ended by an Accomodation, I truſt ſuch Meaſures will be taken at Home as may enſure a laſting Peace to the Northern Colonies, on which Subject I have lately received ſome Letters from the *Lords of Trade* expreſſing his Majeſty's favourable Sentiments and thoſe of their Lordſhips concerning my late Repreſentations.

I am heartily ſorry to hear that the Animoſities in England have not ſubſided, as ſuch Party Differences muſt greatly prejudice public Affairs and tend to divert the Attention of the Miniſtry from many important Objects of public Concern.

Letter

Letter from John R. Hanſen to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

SCHOHARIE, Capt. Thos. Eckkers, }
Feby 1ſt, 1764. }

HONOURED SIR:

AFTER Lt. Coll. Van Derhyden's muſtering my Men, I immediately march'd for this Place where I arrived with my Men 28th of January, and have proceeded perſuant to ȳour Order in getting the Men quartered in the moſt convenient Manner with the Advice of the Juſtices and Capts of Militia.

I have ſince ſent one of my Lts to the uppermoſt Part of *Scohare* with a Command of 16 Men, which was judged moſt neceſſary, whom I have order'd to be ſtation'd in the beſt Manner the Situation of that Part would permitt off.

The remainder 34 Men I have with Advice quartered within a Mile hereabout, if there ſhou'd be any Occation to ſend out Scouting Parties there's no Poſſibility of getting any Snow Shoes, at this Place, if they ſhou'd be wanted.

I am, Honoured Sir,
Yours at Command,

JOHN R. HANSEN.

To the Honble Sir Wm. Johnſon, Bart.

Extract

Extract from a Letter from Ferrall Wade to Sir William Johnson.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnson, viii.]

PHILAD[a] Feby 6th, 1764.

SIR:

YOUR Fav[r] of the 5th Jan[y] was handed me a few Days ago, which I should have answered before now but being in continual Alarms on account of a Numb[r] of People comeing from the Frontiers in Arms with an Intent to murder all the Indians in this City and under the Protection of this Government, but the Oposition they met with by most Part of the Inhabitants being in a Posture of Defence obliged them to return as they came, excepting two, which was apointed to lay some Grievances before the Government.

* * * *

Letter from Sir William Johnson to Gen. Burton.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnson, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Feby 11th, 1764.

SIR:

CAPT. Claus, my Deputy for Canada will deliver you this, as I would not send him to this Duty without doing myself the Pleasure of writing you, as well as giving you some Account of the present State of Affairs in this Quarter.

The Indians of five out of the six Nations who from the Commencement of the present Indian War have shewn great Zeal and Attachment towards the English have thereby preserved these Frontiers and the important

ant Communication to Ontario, both of which muſt have inevitably fallen but for their Fidelity. As I am now impowered to comply with their Requeſt of going upon Service, I have accordingly equipped a party of near 200 Indians accompanied by ſev[l] Indian Officers, &c. who marched two Days ago (nothwithſtanding the Snow is here 3 Feet deep) againſt the Delawares, Shawaneſe and others our Enemies in that Quarter, and I have great Hopes that their Operations will be attended with Succeſs, as it muſt appear evident that they are the beſt calculated to go in queſt of one another, and that the engaging them as Party's in the War, will effectually create a Diviſion among them w'ch will prove a great Check to their Power hereafter.

As the Indians of Canada have likewiſe acted a very good Part and made me Offers of Service when here laſt Year, I ſhall likewiſe put their Zeal to a Trial, nothing doubting but it muſt ſtrike a great Damp on the Spirits of our (hitherto elated) Enemies, when they ſee the Strength of our Alliances and that they are liable to be attacked on all Sides even by their own Sort, which will greatly contribute to the Succeſs of the approaching Campaign, and make our Enemies very cautious how they violate a Peace hereafter with a People who can employ one Nation againſt another.

Capt. Claus will give you any further Particulars neceſſary for your Information on the preſent Poſture of Affairs in the Indian Department.

I ſincerely wiſh you an eaſy and agreable Government and remain with much eſteem,

Sir, &c.

Letter

Letter from Thomas McKee to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

Hon. Sir:

MY Son returned Home the 1ſt Inſt, when I was honoured with your Warrant, Inſtructions and Favour of the 3d January. I was extremely ſorry to hear of your Indiſpoſition & ſincerely hope you had a ſpeedy Recovery.

I make no doubt but my Son at that Time informed you of the Conduct of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province[1] who murdered ſix Conniſtogo Indians at

[1] The Diſorders here alluded to have been known in Hiſtory as the Paxton Riots, from having originated in the little Town of Paxton on the Eaſt Bank of the Suſquehanna, a Place which had been burned, and many of its Inhabitants butchered in 1755. A Band of Rangers had been formed here under the Auſpices of the Rev. John Elder, under the Command of Matthew Smith. The irritation of Feeling towards the domeſticated Indians on the Suſquehanna, in Conſequence of ſome Murders by unknown Parties, led the Government to gather the Moravian Indian Converts of Nain, and Wecquetank near the Lehigh, and of Wyaluſing near Wyoming, numbering about 140 Perſons, to Philadelphia for Protection. It required all its Strength to protect the defenceleſs and peaceful Indians from the ferocious Abuſe of the excited Frontiermen, and as they paſſed on their way to the Aſylum provided they were everywhere threatened, and at Germantown came nigh being murdered by the Mob that followed them. They were marched to the Barracks but the Soldiers refuſed to receive them and boldly ſet the Governor's Orders at defiance. After ſtanding ſeveral Hours before the Barracks ſurrounded by the inſulting Mob, they were marched down the Street and conducted to Providence Iſland below the City, where Buildings were haſtily prepared for them by the Quakers.

About the Middle of December, 1763, it was reported to Smith, Leader of the Paxton Rangers, that an Indian who had committed ſome Depredations, had been traced to Caneſtoga, a ſmall Iroquois Settlement near the Suſquehanna, and not far from Lancaſter. Without waiting for a Confirmation of the Story or its Circumſtances, a Reſolution was at once formed, with the Con-

their

their Town near Lancaſter, being all that were at Home at that Time except two Boys who made their Eſcape from them. The remaining Part fourteen in Number, Women and Children, being diſperſ'd through the Country were ſeized by the Sheriff and Magiſtrates of the County and confined in the Work houſe of Lancaſter, in order to guard them, but upon the back Inhabitants receiving Information of this, they again

ſequences detailed in the above Letter. Mr. Elder uſed all his Influence to divert his Neighbours from their barbarous Purpoſe, as they were about to ſet out for Lancaſter, but with the Fury of Demons they ruſhed forward on their Errand of Blood. Breaking into the Jail on the 27th of December, they murdered fourteen Men, Women and Children. Before the Magiſtrates and Citizens could be rallied the white Savages were gone, and nothing remained to be done but to give decent Burial to the mangled and mutilated Remains of theſe friendly Natives. The News of this Outrage quickly ſpread through the Country and arouſed the Quakers in particular to loud and bitter Denunciations of the Act. The Memory of Indian Murders, ſtill freſh throughout the frontier Counties, led many to ſympathize with the Rioters, to which they were rather inſtigated than deterred by the indiſcriminate and ſweeping Abuſe of the Quakers, which included not only the Rioters themſelves, but the whole Preſbyterian Sect. Emboldened by this Sentiment, the guilty Parties openly proclaimed their Achievement as in the higheſt Degree meritorious, defended it by Reaſon and Scripture, and defied the civil Authorities in any Attempt at Puniſhment.

They even went further, and reeking with the Blood of the paſſive Victims of their Fury, they reſolved to complete the Work of Death upon the Moravian Indians gathered at Philadelphia. An armed Mob marched towards that City at about the laſt of December, with the avowed Purpoſe of Murder, if not of overturning the Government and expelling the Quakers, whoſe Sympathies with the Indians were bitterly denounced and whoſe Motives were unſcrupulouſly impugned. At Midnight on the 4th of January, the Authorities, hearing of the Approach of this Party, haſtily marched the Indians through the Streets, and having been ſupplied by their Friends with a few Neceſſaries, they were eſcorted to Trenton, and from thence to Amboy, with the View of ſending them to the Protection of Sir William Johnſon; but before notifying either him or the Government of New York of this Intention or aſking Permiſſion.

At Amboy they were met by a poſitive Order from the Governor

aſſembled

aſſembled themſelves in a Body and came down armed to Lancaſter, broke open the Work houſe and in a moſt inhuman Manner butchered the whole, ſparing neither Women or Children, an Action I look upon not inferior to any of the Cruelties committed by the Savages ſince the Commencement of the late or preſent War. As to my Knowledge theſe Indians have lived all their Lives within eight Miles of Lancaſter,

of New York, forbidding their Entrance into that Province, and ſoon after from the Governor of New Jerſey, requiring them to leave the Territory of that Province. They were marched back to Philadelphia under a Guard of Regulars, and quartered in the Barracks where the Soldiers, conquered by the meek Endurance and patient Suffering of the Indians, received them. The Paxton Boys hearing of the Return of their Victims, rallied in great Numbers, the City was thrown into Uproar, and for ſeveral Days it was the Scene of intenſe Excitement, and active Preparation for Defenſe. The Advance of the Inſurgents was checked by this Show of Reſiſtance, and the Affair finally ended in Negotiation.

The humane and ſagacious Sir William Johnſon, perceiving the Perils that would attend the March of theſe Indians through the Interior, upon application immediately deviſed a Plan for their removal from Amboy to Albany, and their Support among his friendly Indians until the Tumult was over. The Victims of theſe Riots, ſhut up in their Barracks, ſuffered dreadfully from the Small Pox, which deſtroyed a third of their Number. In about a Year after their Arrival, quiet having been reſtored in the back Settlements, and Peace with all the Northern Tribes, theſe Converts were allowed to return with their Miſſionaries to their waſted Fields, and the Sites of their burned Cabins, on the Banks of the Suſquehanna.

The Government was too ſenſible of the exaſperated Feeling which prevailed in the Interior to attempt any Arreſts until nearly eight Years after, when Lazarus Stewart was apprehended on a Charge of murdering the Indians at Coneſtoga.

Learning that his Trial was to come off in Philadelphia, where Conviction would have been certain, he broke Jail, called a Number of old Aſſociates around him, and ſetting the Provincial Government of Pennſylvania at Defiance, withdrew to Wyoming and joined the Connecticut Settlers in that Valley. It is not improbable that the Deſolation of that Settlement by the Indians and their Tory Companions in the Revolution, a few Years after, may have had ſome Connection with their Knowledge of the Retreat of the former Butchers of their Kindred. *(Parkman's Pontiac; Loſkiel; Hazard's Pa. Regiſter; Rupp's York and Lancaſter; Sparks's Franklin.)*

in

in Peace and Quietneſs with their Neighbours, and I do not believe were ever concerned againſt us.

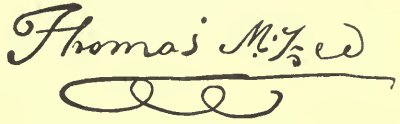
The Government made ſome faint Efforts to find the Heads of theſe People, which only encourage their Impudence, as I am informed a few Days agoe, to the Number of three hundred aſſembled themſelves in Arms and came down to Philad[a] in order to cut off ſome Indians the Government have here, but upon ſome Promiſes being made them by the Government, they have diſſuaded them from murdering thoſe in Philad[a] and they are return'd Home again, and they now carry Things to great Length as to threaten the Lives of ſundry private People who have not agreed with them in Opinions but condemned this as a moſt deteſtable Murder, and not only contrary to the Laws of Government but Chriſtianity, and every thing that ought to diſtinguiſh us from Savages, as this leaves us no Room to find Fault with their killing our innocent People in cold Blood, as they may now ſay we are ſatiated in the ſame Manner on them. I ſhould be far from eſpouſing their Cauſe did I not think they were innocent, as no Perſon has ſuffered more by the Savages than I have done, and I ſhould have thought the People who have thus behaved more excuſable if they had cut off in Philad[a] maintain'd at the Public Expence, as there is ſome Reaſon to believe that ſome of theſe have acted againſt us. But the others in a Manner were become white People, and expected the ſame Protection from us. I thought proper to acquaint your Ho[r] with this Affair, as you might perhaps want to acquaint the Indians with the true Circumſtances relating to it.

My Son preſents his Compliments to your Honour and begs if you have not ſent a Warant for his Acc[t] that you would be kind enough to forward one as ſoon as it may be convenient to you & if it likewiſe ſuits your

your Conveniency I ſhould be glad your Hon[r] would accompany it with one to me for ſome Money, as I am really at preſent in Neceſſity.

I have nothing further to add, but that I am with greateſt Reſpect, your Honour's

moſt obedient and very humble Servant,



Part of a Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to General Amherſt.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 146.]

ALBANY, 20th Feb. 1764.

DEAR SIR:

YOUR Excellency's Favor of the 13th Inſtant was delivered me yeſterday. The Boats for 2000 Men only have long ſince been built and I directly ſtopt building any more untill your farther Directions.

To fix the Number of Carriages [at] the Carrying Place at Niagara, it will be neceſſary to know whether you would have all the Proviſions, Stores, &c. tranſported acroſs before the Troops proceed to any other Service, and what Number of Days you would have taken up on that Service only. Gen[l] Amherſt talk'd to me of leaving 600 Men at the Poſt to the weſtward of Neagara with 18 Month Proviſions; if that is ſtill to be the Caſe, and our whole Numbers amount to no more than 2000, it will require about 6000 Barrells (for your Ex. knows we ſhould not count by Ounces

but

but give a proper Allowance for the Kind of Service) which will take 50 Ox Carts 15 Days to carry it a croſs at a full Load of 8 Barrells each Trip, excluſive of every thing for the Veſſels & Poſts to be eſtabliſhed; but if Accidents, which we certainly muſt expect from the Diſtance the Cattle have to go & the badneſs of great Part of the Road, of which Major Moncrief can inform you, the Time required would be much longer.

As for the Boats I ſhall begin to provide as many Horſes & Carriages as ſhall be ſufficient to carrying them over with the Baggage of Troops in Proportion to the Ox Carts. By this your Excellency ſees it is moſt probable the Tranſportation at Neagara will laſt three Weeks at leaſt; a long Time indeed, but it would be impertinent in me to urge to one ſo well inform'd as you are of their Treachery and good Senſe of the Savages the abſolute Neceſſity of entering this inland Country with a Diſpatch hitherto thought by them impracticable in us, and more particularly ſo ſhould our Strength fall ſo prodigiouſly ſhort of the Threats denounced againſt them & the Pains taken to let them know it and therefore doubt not you will think it neceſſary to direct me to augment the Number of Carriages to do the Work in the Number of Days you ſhall judge we ought to remain on that Carrying Place.

I take it for granted I muſt provide Teamſters & Waggons, but in this I ſhall not act untill I receive your Exl[s] Directions upon it.

I hope Gov. Murray[1] will not diſappoint you, and I alſo hope the Eaſtern Aſſemblys will think no Credit ought to be given to an Indian Peace but what comes

[1] James Murray had been appointed Governor of Canada on the 21ſt of November previous. He remained in Office until June, 1766.

to

to their . . . . directly from you, which I am perſuaded they need not expect this Spring.

Letter from Henry Monture, Wm. Hare and John Johnſton to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

KAUNAWAU KOHARE, Feb. 21, 1764.

SIR WILLIAM:

SIR: The Bearer hereof pleaſe to deliver eight Dollars for which we war forc'd to do for the good of the Service, for a Hog for the Warriours to make a Feaſt as we could not do any otherwaſe as'tha ſaid it was a cuſtomary Thing and they hope Sir William would not make any Differance now, and pleaſe to ſend Paper and Sealing Wax up to their Prieſt as I have uſed ſome of his Paper and Wax. A Quire and Stick of Sealing Wax. Pleaſe to ſend no more, but we remain

Your humble Servts

HENRY MONTURE,
WILLIAM HARE,
JOHN JOHNSTON.

The Same to the Same.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, vii.]

KUANA WAHOHARE, Feb. 21, 1764.

SIR WILLIAM:

AFTER our Reſpects to you we muſt inform you of the Reaſon of our detainment here, at this Place, we being in great Confuſion here ever ſince our Arrival for Reaſon why, becauſe one Conokuiaſi and one big Nichols

Nichols of Oneida haſt ſent two Belts through the Six Nations to the Sinackeſs to tell them of all our Deſigns and force this Caſtle to likewiſe comply with their evil Purpoſes, and one young Warrior called Wyyautaukeen from old Oneida has ſaid he would very ſoon ſcalp ſome white People and then immediately fly to the Six Nations, and there is one of the Head Warriors call[d] Cut the Pumpkin has ſent Word he will meet us at Teurogoa to try what we are, and he wiſhes to ſee Jacob the Mikouder[1] of Stockbridge as he is ſo long a coming when he could have the Impudence to pretend to withſtand him. Laſt Evening we received yours dated the 12th Inſtant wherein we acquainted the Indians your giving your Love to theire Warriors and Chiefs and then your Deſire of their exciting themſelves in this Affair, depending which ſhould never be forgot, and would redound unto their Credit hereafter, and your Deſire of our puſhing on and not delaying our Time in Things of no Conſequence or Moment, and likewiſe the hearty Wiſhes of all the Governors and Chiefs of the Country and Prayer of all good People.

The Anſwer of the Indians to your Letter:

Friend and loving Brother Wawaukaugee, we return you Thanks for your good Will and Complement to us and likewiſe the Complement of the Governors and Chiefs. We ſhould have been ſet out before had it not been for them Belts ſent by Conokgoraſſe and Nichols as we had Reaſons to think what would be the Conſequences that might likely attend us and this Body of our Enemy coming down againſt us, for which Reaſons Brother, we muſt acquaint you that yeſterday our Chief Warrior Cowaha ſet out for Onandaug in order to ſee if the upper Nations would come down at the re-

[1] Mohegan.

queſt

queſt of them Belts and he to try his beſt to alter there Minds and ſend them back, and at his Return they imagen the whole Party will joyn us. However tomorrow Morning early we ſet [out] from this on our March for Auqquage and what Warriors have a Mind to joyn us to proceed and the reſt to follow us as ſoon as Gowaha returns. Theſe Indians deſire you would ſend for theſe Fellows to know the Meaning of their ſending this Belt and let ſome of theſe Indians come down alſo along with them that he may hear what they have to ſay for themſelves. The aforeſaid Cut the Pumpkin ſent Word by Capt. Monture to come along as he would be very glad to ſee him, and we hope Sir William will hurry all of them that is behind to puſh up to Auqquage to joyn us ſo as in Caſe of a Retreat that we will be able to puſh on them again and indeavour to rout them. The Indians of this Caſtle requeſt of Sir William that you would be ſo good as to ſupply their Women with Proviſions if required at Fort Stanwix in a reaſonable Manner and that what few Men there is left accordingly you will ſupply them with Fire Arms and Ammunition, and ſuch Things as they will be ſhort of in caſe of an Attack.

No more at preſent, but our Advice to you, to be on your guard in and on every Part of the Mohawk River, Schohary, Stone Rauby and Cherry Vally. We remain your ſincear and ever devoted hum^{l} Serv^{ts} till Death.

HENRY MONTURE,
WILLIAM HARE,
JOHN JOHNSTON.

Letter from Robert McKeen[1] *to Sir Wm. Johnſon.*

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

CHERRY VALLEY, February 25th, 1764.

SIR:

I HAVE thought proper to acquaint you with the preſent State of my Company and have the Pleaſure to acquaint you that they are all in a good State and in high Spirits.

I have kept a regular Guard at Capt. Wells[1] ever ſince I arrived at this Settlement, and reviews my Men every Week and has them ſtationed in the beſt Manner I could for the Protection of this Settlement.

I ſhould be glad if your Honour wou'd let me know if it is neceſſary to ſend a monthly Return to the Lt. Governor.

I am Sir your moſt Humble Servt

Robert McKeen

[1] Captain McKEAN reſided at Cherry Valley and early in 1776 raiſed a Company of Rangers for the Protection of that Place. He was an enterpriſing and fearleſs Partizan, and was mortally wounded in the Summer of 1781 in an Expedition againſt a Tory Band in the Border of Schoharie Co.—*Campbell's Tryon Co.*

[2] Mr. ROBERT WELLS and his Family periſhed in the Maſſacre of Cherry Valley, Nov. 11, 1778. The Family conſiſted of himſelf, his Mother and Wife, and four Children, his Brother and Siſter and three Domeſticks, not one of them eſcaped excepting John, one of the Children, who happened to be abſent at School at Schenectady. A Tory boaſted that he killed Mr. Wells while at Prayer.—*Campbell's Tryon Co.*

P. S.

P. S. In Caſe of an Alarm my Men is always in readineſs to aſſemble at the Place appointed for an alarm Poſt.

A monthly Return of Captain Robert McKeans Company of Provincials now lying at Cherry Valley, Febuary 25th, 1764.

Preſent for Duty.

Captain, - - - - - -	1
Lieutenants, - - - -	2
Rank and File, - - -	50
Total, - - -	53

ROBERT MCKEEN, Capt.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Gov. John Penn.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Feby 27th, 1764.

SIR:

THE Expreſs delivered me your Favor of the 7th laſt Night concerning the perſecuted Indians now in Philadelphia. The Rancours with which they have been purſued by the Rioters is as extraordinary as it may be dangerous to the Public, and leaſt their Deſigns might be put in Execution I cannot but approve of your Propoſal of ſending them hither, for ſhould they fall a Sacrifice to unjuſt Reſentment it muſt certainly occaſion a Breach with all the Friend Indians.

The ſending them thro' the back Parts of the Country at this Time might ſubject them to the Inſults of the Rioters, neither would it be practicable. I think the ſafeſt and beſt Way would be, what you propoſe of ſending them by Water from Amboy to Albany, after which I ſhall diſpoſe of them (altho' it will bring ſome

ſome Expenſe on the Crown) amongſt the Friend Indians whilſt the preſent Ferment continues. I ſhall accordingly write immediately to Governor Colden, and repreſent the Neceſſity of removing theſe Indians for a Time, as highly eſſential to our Intereſts and the public Safety, and I ſhall requeſt the Governor in caſe ehe Government has no Objection to their coming to give you Notice that no Time may be loſt.

I am Sir your moſt obed^{t} & moſt Humble Serv^{t}

To the Hon'ble Gov^{r} Penn.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Lieut. Gov. Colden.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, Feb'y 28th, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I HAVE juſt received your Favour of the 17th Inſt. as alſo a Letter pr Expreſs from Gov^{r} Penn repreſenting the late audacious Attempts of the Rioters to murder the Indians under the Protection of Philadelphia, as alſo his Apprehenſions concerning their future Safety there, on which acc't he propoſes ſending them by Land thro' his Government or elſe by Water from Amboy to Albany. The former may ſubject them to too many Inſults and Hazards, and as I am well ſatiſfied that ſhould theſe Indians or any of them fall a Sacrifice after what has already happened, it will prove highly prejudicial to our Affairs as well as dangerous to the public Security, I cannot avoid recommending the Propoſal of tranſporting them by Water to Albany, after which I ſhall diſpoſe of them amongſt the Indians here till matters are accommodated. If it is judged adviſable

adviſable a Line from you to Gov^{r} Penn will enable him to take the neceſſary Steps without loſs of Time.

Whenever any thing farther tranſpires relative to Mr. Lydius,[1] I ſhall let you know it. I am told that one of his Sons has been lately thro' the Country in Company of a Juſtice of the Peace to obtain Affidavits for what Purpoſe I know not, but probably in ſupport of his Claims.

Iſle la Motte[2] is ſuppoſed to be to the ſouthward of the 45th Degree of Latitude, but perhaps on future Obſervations it may appear in the *Quebec* Government. The Lands above the Great Falls on Otter Creek may be good tho' a good deal out of the way for ſmall a Tract.[3] There is a ſmall Piece of Land within about

[1] Among the extravagant Grants of Land made by Governor Fletcher which have rendered his Name a Synonym for Corruption, and occaſioned among other Things his Recall and Diſgrace, was that of a Tract covering eight hundred and forty ſquare Miles in the preſent County of Waſhington, N. Y. and the ſouthern Part of Vermont. This Tract was granted Sept. 3, 1696, to the Rev. Godfredius Dellius, Miniſter at Albany, for the annual Rent of one Raccoon Skin, payable annually, on the Feaſt Day of the Annunciation, at the City of New York. The Grant was annulled by the General Aſſembly of the Colony, May 12, 1699, but Dellius denied the Authority of that Body, and continued to regard the Claim as valid. He ſoon after ſold his Claim in Holland to the Rev. John Lydius, his Succeſſor in the Paſtoral relation at Albany. His Son, Col. Lydius, to give additional Claim to this Title, made a Settlement on the Hudſon at Fort Edward and engaged in Trade with the Indians. In 1744 this Houſe was captured and burned by the Indians, and a Son was carried Priſoner to Canada. The Writer refers in the Text to Efforts made by this Family to ſubſtantiate their Title to this Tract. *(Tranſactions of N. Y. State Ag. Soc., vol. viii.)*

[2] Now in Vermont, forming a Part of Grand Iſle County. It lies in Lat. 44° 57m. and Long. 3° 41m. E. from Waſhington. It is 28 Miles N. W. from Burlington, 13 Weſt from St. Albans, and contains 4,620 Acres. It was firſt ſettled about 1785, and is celebrated for its extenſive Limeſtone Quarries, which afford a black Marble.

[3] It will be remembered that at

3 Miles of Lake George, on the Road leading from Fort Edward. Pleaſe to inform me whether it can be granted, but I find at the back of my Patent here and at 10 or 12 Miles from the River, a ſmall Piece which is an Intervale and I ſhould be greatly obliged to you if you would grant it, on the Indians conſenting thereto. Lieut. Johnſon[1] will have a Certificate ſhortly from Gen. Gage as you deſire.

There are now ſeveral Partys marched againſt the Enemy,[2] one of theſe amounts to about 200 Indians, many more are collecting to follow them and my whole Time is occupied in Conferences, in fitting out Parties, &c. The Indians will not be diſcouraged by the Rigors of the Seaſon. The Poſts I have ſent them to are the Forks and Branches of Ohio and Suſquehanna, where many of our Enemies reſide, and the Alacrity which our Friend Indians manifeſt gives me great Reaſon to hope I ſhall ſhortly have the Pleaſure of acquainting you that they have in a great Meaſure deſtroyed and removed theſe dangerous Enemies who have infeſted the neighboring Frontiers.

I am, &c.

P. S. One Mr. Tice of Schenectady has been mentioned to me as a very proper Perſon for a Provincial Compy I muſt beg leave to recommend him to your Notice, ſhod ſuch be raiſed, as he has ſerved as an Officer for ſome Years.

this Period the Colony of New York claimed Juriſdiction over the Territory embraced in the preſent State of Vermont, and were granting Lands in laviſh Profuſion, in Quantities of a whole Townſhip at a Time. Sir William Johnſon was peculiarly favored in theſe Allotments of the King's Domain.

[1] Referring to Sir John Johnſon's Son.

[2] The Succeſs of one of theſe Parties is related in a ſucceeding Letter, dated March 2, 1764.

Letter

Letter from Henry Monture, Wm. Hare and John Johnſton to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

AUQOUGE,[1] Feb. 28, 1764.

SIR WILLIAM:

WE have the Pleaſure to inform you of ſome Part of our Succeſs, which if failed of ſome Parts of the Mohawk River muſt unavoidably ſuffer, as we ſuſpect Cherry Vally or Schoharey.

The Priſoners we ſend to you as a Token of our proſicuting your Inſtructions as far as we are able; the Commander Sir William will ſingal out and ſeveral of them as principal Murderers during the War and reward them according to their Deſert. The Woman bringing down we adjudge as Scheme that they might not be ſuſpected they are Murderers that has been and they have come ſome of them from Kaniſteo. So we leave Sir William to act as he pleaſes.

We remain your ever Devoted and humˡ Serᵗˢ

HENRY MONTURE,
JOHN JOHNSTON,
WILLIAM HARE.

Pleaſe to excuſe the Pen and Haſte, one of the Priſoners a young Man had the Impudence to bring ſome Engliſh Priſoners through this Place.

[1] Endorſed Oghquago, and variouſly written as Onohoghwage, Auqoage, Oucqoago, Oghquaga, &c. It was ſituated on the Eaſt Branch of the Suſquehanna in the preſent Town of Windſor, Broome Co., N. Y. The Hills here ſlope gently towards the River on both Sides, forming a beautiful Vale of three or four Miles in Length, and from a Mile to a Mile and a half in Width, where the Indians reſided in great Numbers prior to and during the Revolutionary War.

The

The Same to the Same.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

AUQOAUGE, Feb. 28, 1764.

SIR WILLIAM:

THIS Day with Pleaſure we can acquaint you of our Proceedings and Succeſs, after our Arrival, which we ſhall deliver to you in the following Maner from the Indians:

After our Love and Reſpect to you as Governor & Chief, and then to the Commander of the ſeveral different Places in America. Firſt three Days after our Arrival at this our Settlement we were informed that a Body of our Enemies were arrived here and going down under ſome Pretence to the River, but on the contrary we ſuſpect to do Damage as they formerly have done to kill, burn and deſtroy, being noted for murdering, notorious Villains. Laſt Night we ſeized ſeven of there chief Warriors here in our Caſtle and the famous Captain Bull of their Party, after ſome little Reſiſtance, bound them Hand and Feet. This Morning we all ſet out for their Encampment, and unbeknowing to them about Day, ſeized eleven Men of there Warrors and eight Women and three Children, which make twenty-nine in Number.

And now Brother you ſee our Fidelity in opening the Door and we hope you will conſider our Care, and that we lay expoſed to Cenſure and ill Will of all Nations that are not found in the Cauſe. We hope you will look into our Caſe and liſten to us as well as we liſten to you, as we think we are equally bound to each other. Conſider Brother that this our Settlement and Chininga and Chuknut are our Bounderies of Friendſhip

Friendſhip ſo as we expect you will liſten to our Requeſt, that is to ſend a Party of Men to Conawa Rohare[1] at Oneida and another Party to this our Settlement at Auqqoage of a Safeguard for our Women and Children, and to hurry all Partys of Warriors to come to our Aſſiſtance immediately as we are very weak at preſent and make no delay. So after our Arrival we found all our Warriors as redy to execute and deſign as we were ready to propoſe, but we are ſorry to think that the Oneidas differ ſo much in their way of thinking and that is one of the Reaſons we requeſt a ſafe Guard, and when we heard the Sound of our Brother Warriors coming from you and from Conawa Rohare it revived our Spirits and was like a pleaſing Toy to a Child or like a Phyſick that refreſh a ſick or weak Bodye, ſo as tho we are delay'd from proceding untill we get more Aſſiſtance.

You uſed to ſay that your Body was light and it was only the Word for you to ſay March, and every one muſt comply and you was never ſhort of Proviſion.

Tomorrow we ſend the Priſoners by the way of Onida, for the Reaſon that perhaps that ſome of the Friends of the Priſoners may meet each other and breed a Quarrel. No more, but we remain

Your truſty Brother Indians.

Atteſted by us,
HENRY MONTURE,
WILLIAM HARE,
JOHN JOHNSTON.

[1] Stated in a ſubſequent Letter, dated March 2, 1764, to be within twelve Miles of Oneida Lake. See p. 263.

Letter from Sir Wm. Johnſon to Maj. General Gage.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, March 1ſt, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I HAVE had the Pleaſure of your Letters of the 13th and 20th ult° and embrace the firſt Opportunity which Time has permitted of anſwering them.

The exact Number of Indians who may accompany the Army muſt be uncertain, nor is it poſſible to know how many they will conſiſt of. The preſent Spirit amongſt them gives me great Hopes of a powerful Aſſiſtance and I ſhall uſe every Endeavour in my Power to keep it up for this Purpoſe. I apprehend however that I may rely with Confidence on the Attendance of 4 or 500, perhaps they may be twice that Number, but it will greatly depend on Circumſtances and the Time I ſhall have given me to collect them with the help of ſeveral proper Indian Officers who muſt neceſſarily be appointed for that Purpoſe. The Friend Indians in general will readily joyn either againſt the weſtern Nations or the Shawaneſe and Delawares, and if Affairs are not ſpeedily ſettled between us and the Senecas, I have no doubt but they will march alſo againſt them.

I apprehend the Shawaneſe and Delawares will ſuffer greatly from the Partys I have already ſent out, and ſhall continue to ſend againſt them, which will make eaſy Work for the Troops on the Campaign. Theſe two Nations appear the moſt determined but their Party decreaſes, many of them have already fallen off on hearing the determination of our Friends and I am hopeful they will (as Affairs are now circumſtanced) be unable

unable to perſuade the weſtern Nations to renew Hoſtilities, eſpecially as the latter will ſhortly diſcover that ſuch a Proceeding muſt involve them in a War with the Friend Indians, which they would by no means reliſh. The like Reaſons will (I hope) have the ſame Effect on the Senecas which will prove of great Service to us, as the Indians in general would certainly proceed with greater Alacrity againſt the reſt.

Many Steps have already been taken by the Friend Indians to bring over the Senecas, to which their Inactivity for ſome Time paſt muſt be chiefly attributed, and I truſt that the Belts and Meſſages lately ſent to them will be productive of an Accommodation of which I expect to have Notice in a very ſhort Time, as the upper Nations will ſhortly be down. I mean to treat with them outwardly as a miſguided People whom we are deſirous to compaſſionate and forgive on certain Terms rather than to give them any Confidence in their Abilities by expreſſing a Deſire to promote a Peace with them, and I truſt this Conduct will have a good Effect.

I have ſent out ſev[l] Partys ſince the firſt and ſhall continue to do ſo, as I have the Pleaſure to find that our Enemies are already greatly alarmed at the Reſolutions of the reſt.

Letter

Letter from Henry Monture, William Hare and John Johnſton to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

OUCQOAGO. March 21, 1764.

SIR WILLIAM:

THIS Day the Priſoners ſet out for your Houſe by the way of Oneida, and all the Oneidas that came with us likewiſe return with them, as they ſaid they had fulfilled your Pleaſure by taken of ſo many Priſoners and chief Warriors. Yeſtarday we rec^{d} your two Letters by an Onida, the one dated the 21 of Feb'y and the other the 23d of Feb'y, wherein we acquainted them of your Concern for their Wellfare and your Deſire of our proceeding. They were very glad and made Anſwer that they had done according to your Will, which would be a welcome Sight for you to ſee ſo many of your ſworn Enemies, as they had but one Belt they thought they could return with Honour. They preſ^{d} very hard for us to come along with them in Company, but we conſider of our Errand refuſed, knowing at leaſt Sir that we was ſhort as yet for the good Work now in Hand before us. We then remain here untill ſuch Times as the Arrival of other Forces to joyn that we may ſtrick the Blow to Purpoſe, which Sir you will not neglect ſending us a Reinforcement as ſoon and as quick as poſſible, if you ſhould think proper to ſend us a Body of two hundred Whites to joyn the Body of Indians you are about to ſend us, we think with Gods help we may deſtroy a great Part of their Settlements along the Dioago[1] River, the Ouqoagos are very harty and only wait for any thing of a party to joyn

[1] Tioga.

that

that they may ſtrick the Blow as they ſay their Work is as yet before them. There is here in Store ſix Barrells of Flour and about a hundred Weight of Sugar belonging to Mr. Wells of Cherry Vally, which Sugar would be very uſefull for any Body of Men to make Ouquickare and the Flour likewiſe in Caſe required. We ſend you one Capt Bull, the famous Head Warrior belonging to the Sqoaſhcutter, a great Villain, and the reſt of his Crew of Warriors. We hope Sir William will not take any Excuſes from them but puniſh them with Severity as they deſerve. Two Brothers, Fidlers, excepted, being by all Accounts not Party concerned, as Capt. Monture knows them very well. As to our ſpeedy Return it is uncertain, as Sir William muſt judge by Circumſtances, but you may depend on our preſſing it on as far and as faſt as poſſible we can, and with Gods help we hope is ſhort of give you pleaſant Detail of our Succeſs. We remain your ever devoted and

Hum^{l} Serv^{ts} till Death.

HENRY MONTURE,
WILLIAM HARE,
JOHN JOHNSTON.

P. S. Be ſo good as to forward the Party. The Prieſt of the Pariſh here gives his Complim^{ts} to you and all his Family.

Letter

Letter from Sir William Johnſon to Col. Bradſtreet.

[From the Original in the Poſſeſſion of M. M. Jones, Eſq. of Utica.]

JOHNSON HALL, March 2, 1764, }
At Night. }

DEAR SIR:

IT gives me great Pleaſure that I now inform you of the Succeſs of the firſt Party I lately ſent out againſt our Enemy, an Expreſs being juſt arrived with Letters acquainting me that on the 26th ult° in the Evening, near the main Branch of Suſqehanna, as they were purſuing their Rout, they received Advice that a large Party of our Enemys the Delawares, were encamped at a ſmall Diſtance on their way againſt ſome of the Settlements hereabouts, upon which Intelligence they made an expeditious March to their Encampment, which they ſurrounded at Daybreak, then ruſhing upon the Delawares (who were ſurpriſed and unable to make a Defence) they made them all Priſoners to the Number of 41, including their Chief, *Capt. Bull*, Son of Teedyuſcung, and one who has diſcovered great Inveteracy againſt the Engliſh, and led ſeveral Partys againſt them during the preſent Indian War. They are all faſt bound and may be expected here under an Eſcort in a few Days.

The Indians of Onoghquagey and Canawaroghere, the latter within twelve Miles of Oneida Lake, are very uneaſy leaſt our Enemys ſhould take Advantage of the Abſence of their Men, and deſtroy their Familys, on which Account they are very ſolicitous for a Guard till their Men return, & I apprehend if their Requeſt is complied with, it will give new Spirits to the Partys and encourage more to go on Service.

I

I have therefore mentioned it to the General, and am of Opinion it may be eaſily done by Partys from the Provincials at German Flatts.

I am of Opinion it will be beſt to ſend the Priſoners to New York as the beſt Place of Security, there to remain till ſomething be done with them.

I am with great Reſpect,
Sir, your moſt obedient
humble Servant,
WM. JOHNSON.

Letter from Capt. John R. Hanſen to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

Capt. Eckerſon's, WISERSDORP,[1] March 12, 1764.

HONOURED SIR:

RECEIVED yours of the 3d Inſt. and have ſince proceeded according to your Directions, in diſpatching a Serg[t] with 10 Men of my Comp[y] and 6 of the Militia in Company with 6 Indians for Ouaghquago laſt Saturday. Yeſtarday five of the Indians, all Mohawks, returned here to me, with two Indians which they ſay are their Priſoners, and told me for what Reaſon they had taken them, they at firſt refuſed to tell me, and inſiſted that I ſhould take them and ſend them down to your Honour, and if I would not that they would immediately kill them. I then requeſted of the Head of them, one Joſeph a Sachem, that he would ſend one or two of his Men along with

1 Weiſer's Dorp was on the Site of the preſent Village of Middleburgh, Schoharie Co. It was named from Conrad Weiſer, a prominent early German Settler.

the

the Priſoners to your Honour. He told me he could not do that for he was afraid if he did not go off with his Warriors and our Men to Onoghquago that his Brethren there would ſuffer.

He then cautioned me in particular about the Priſoners and in particular againſt one of theſe named *George O'Moke* and ſaid that the ſaid *O'Moke* had threatened one of their old Indians and a Squaw and ſay'd as ſoon as the young Men their Warriors was gone againſt their Brethren the *Delawares*, that they then would kill their Wifes and Children here. This Morning two of the Mohawks again returned to me, who having heard that I ſhould have ordered the Priſoners to be unty'd and ſay'd if I order'd any ſuch Thing and the Priſoners ſhould eſcape, that they would be afraid to go to Onoghquago for fear of the ſeverall Threats made by the Priſoners.

The Serg^{t} who I have gave the Command of thoſe Men aſſigned for Onoghquago I have gave particular Inſtructions agreable to my own Inſtructions received from your Honour; the Serg^{t} is pretty well acquainted with the Indian Tongue. His Inſtructions are, that he ſhall act no farther than what is agreeable to Heads of that Tribe or as your Honour may further direct him.

The remaining Part of my Comp^{y} are all fitt for Duty. I have placed ſo the beſt Advantage in Caſe of an Attack with our Arms in the beſt Manner. The Company having never received any Pay yet ſince they have been raiſed cauſes an infinite Trouble, notwithſtanding all I can do to the contrary to prevent it.

I am Honoured Sir,
your moſt obedient Serv^{t} to Command.
JOHN R. HANSEN.

To the Honour^{ble} Sir Wm, Johnſon, Bart.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Johnſon to Lieutenant Governor Colden.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, March 16th, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I HAVE had the Pleaſure of your very kind Favor of the 19th Inſt. and in Addition to the Succeſs of my firſt Party, I have the Pleaſure to acquaint you that another Party of only ten headed by Thos. King, which I had lately ſent out, met with a Party of nine Delawares, who were ſinging their War Song againſt the Engliſh, on which they imediately killed and ſcalped one and took three Priſoners, who are now on their way here. This is a ſmall Affair, but as 'tis the firſt who has been killed by our Indians, it will prove of ſome Conſequence, and I have Reaſon to expect good News daily from the other Partys.

The firſt Priſoners taken arrived here yeſtarday, and this Morning I ſent down 14 Men of them to the Care of Coll. Elliot at Albany. One of the ſtouteſt remains wounded at Aughquago, and I was obliged to give them People 5 Priſoners for their good Behavior, others to the Oneidas, Tuſcaroras, Onondagas and Mohawks, and to detain 4 myſelf which I diſtributed amongſt the moſt deſerving to replace Perſons deceaſed, for which Purpoſe the reſt were given according to the Indian Cuſtom.

The Conſternation our Enemies are in on acc't of our employing Indians againſt them is very great, and will I hope ſoon be the Means of bringing the diſaffected to our Terms. Near 400 Senecas, &c. are coming here to make ſome Propoſals, as the Onogh-

 quago's

quago's are very Apprehenſive that their Familys may ſuffer by the Enemy in the Abſence of their Warriors, I thought it very neceſſary at this Time to comply with their Requeſt of a Guard, and accordingly ſent them an Officer and 30 Men from the Cherry Valley and Schohare Garriſons with 6 Militia, and the General having given me the Direction of the future Security. Theſe Deputies with Numbrs from the Five Friendly Nations now here, amount to about 500. From the latter I ſhall ſend out ſeveral Partys amongſt the Shawanees and Delawares, who are the only Nations at preſent that have not made any Offers of Accomodation.

I received ſeveral Letters in Autumn and the begining of Winter from the Lords of Trade, one of which contained Orders of a like Nature with thoſe you mention, which I anſwered ſome Time ago as well as I could under ſo much Hurry and Buſineſs. As I underſtand the Board have the Regulation of Trade, &c. under preſent Conſideration, I apprehend it may be too late to lay Matters of that Nature before them ſo as to anſr the Deſign. All that I thought neceſſary on that Head was, that the Indian Trade ſhould be free to all his Majeſty's Subjects and carried on at only the principal Outpoſts, where the Traders ſhould be under tha Protection of the Garriſon and thereby avoid the Riſque they often run of being robbed and murdered, their Goods being a great Temptation to Indians if they are in the Indian Villages, and ſuch Robbery or Murder might prove the Foundation of a future War, as the Indians ſeldom ſtop at the firſt Crimes, neither is it eaſy to perſuade them to make any Reſtitution. Another Matter of Conſideration is, that the Traders at the principal Garriſons by being under the Eye of the Comdg Officer would not be ſo ready to overreach them,

them, fearing a Diſcovery, whereas in their Villages they are often impoſed upon and apt to redreſs themſelves. The Commanding Officer could alſo baniſh the Trader on Proof of Extortion. The reſt I obſerved to their Lordſhips regarded the State of the Department, the Intereſts, Diſpoſitions and Numbers of the Indians.

I am much obliged to you for the Particulars you communicated concerning the Nations to the ſouthward, as alſo about the Tuſcaroras, and ſhould be glad to hear further from you on that Head.

It gave me Concern to hear of the Hoſtilities committed by the ſouthern Ind^{s} & I heartily wiſh a ſpeedy Stop may be put to them as well as that the ſev^{l} Governors may act ſuch a Part as may enable you to bring them to Reaſon, for whilſt People act upon different Plans it is impoſſible for a Superintendant to diſcharge his Truſt as he would wiſh. The French are probably at the Bottom of the Affair, as they have been to the northward, for it gives them ſenſible Pleaſure to foment Differences between the Ind^{s} and us, from which they are apt to flatter themſelves with reaping an Advantage.

I ſhall not omit acquainting you in a little Time, with any material Tranſactions in this Quarter, and am,

&c.

Letter

Letter from Sir William Johnſon to John Stuart.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

JOHNSON HALL, March 18, 1764.

SIR:

I HAVE had the favour of your Letters of the 10th Decr & 16th January laſt, which I ſhould ſooner have anſd but for the extraordinary Hurry and Buſineſs I have been engaged in, the great Reſort of Indians and the Variety of their Affairs occupying my whole Time, nor eſpecially at this Seaſon can they be neglected with Prudence.

Since the Command of the Army devolved upon General Gage I have been impowered to make uſe of the Services of the friendly Nations agſt our Enemys, and have ſent out in different Partys above 300 of them. The firſt of theſe Partys ſurpriſed at the North Branch of Suſquehanna 41 Delawares with their Chief. I deliver'd over ſevl of them amongſt thoſe who attached to our Intereſt to replace their deceaſed Relations, and ſent 14 of them with their Chief to Albany under a Guard, from whence they will be forwarded to New York. A ſmall Party of 10 has ſince fallen in with a ſcalping Party of 9 Enemys (who ſeemed deſtined againſt ſome of the Frontiers of Penſilvania), of theſe they killed one and made three Priſoners, whom I daily expect. The killing of this Indian by a Party of their own Sort will greatly promote the Cauſe and intereſt our Friends more heartily in our Behalf.

Theſe Partys have already ſhown their Importance, the Enemy are greatly alarmed, Numbers have retired towards the Twightwees, and the reſt knowing that Indians are beſt calculated to deſtroy them, have forſaken

ſaken their Caſtles and will ſhortly be reduced to great extremity if not totally ſubdued.

The Chenuſſios and other Enemy Senecas have ſent me ſeveral Deputys from each of their Towns with Propoſals of Peace, which will not be granted them but on Terms moſt adventageous to our Provincials at the German Flatts. I have ordered Aughquago to be reinforced by a Detachment of a Capt. 2 Subs and 60 Men, and ſent the like Number to Canowwaroghere, a Village of Oneidas, whoſe Men are all going out againſt the Enemy. Theſe Garriſons for the Indians will not be required for above 4 or 5 Weeks and will greatly forward the Service by the Encouragement it will give the Indians.

I cannot but agree in Opinion with the Council, that the Wyalooſins, &c. might give bad Impreſſions to the reſt, but I was determined and prepared to guard againſt that and hoped to be able to remove any unjuſt Suſpicion they might conceive having (without vanity I may ſay it) a greater Influence now over the many Nations in our Alliance than ever. However as General Gage informs me that he has propoſed an Aſylum for them in Burlington Barracks, I think it will anſwer very well for the preſent.

Capt. Duncan[1] of Schenectady has requeſted I would repreſent to you his Requeſt, whether he may have his Proportion of Land, he ſold out of the 44th Regiment, but thinks he may claim ſome Title on account of the Service he performed laſt Year, as will appear from Lt. Campbells Certificate.

* * * *

[1] John Duncan, a Merchant of the City of Schenectady. He died at Albany, on the 5th May, 1791, aged 69 Years.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from His Excellency the Hon^ble^ Major General Gage to Major Gladwin, Commanding at the Detroit, dated New York, 23d March, 1764.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

YOU will there be informed, I accepted of the Propoſals of Peace, which the Indians of Detroit had made you, and I am now to deſire, if you find the Savages amicably diſpoſed, and ſincerely inclined to conclude a Peace with us in earneſt, that you would give them Notice in a proper Manner to repair to Niagara by the End of June, at which Time Sir William Johnſon will be there to meet them. You will beſt know what is moſt proper to do, on ſuch an Occaſion, ſhall therefore add, that it may be neceſſary to acquaint them that the Repreſentatives they ſend to this Buſineſs need not be apprehenſive of receiving any Inſults from the Troops which they will probably meet in their way, as when we find they are ſincere in their Overtures the Troops will have Orders not to moleſt them, and they ſhould likewiſe have Notice to collect all the Priſoners and Deſerters which they may have amongſt them, who ſhould all be delivered up to us on this Occaſion. If you think of any Propoſals proper for Sir William Johnſon to make on this Occaſion of Peace, you will write to Sir William on that Head.

Letter

Letter from John Campbell to Sir William Johnson.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnson, viii.]

FORT STANWIX, MARCH, 31, 1764.

SIR:

I AM favoured with your Letter of the 17th March, concerning the Women of the Oneida Village, called Canowoarohere, being in great Diſtreſs for the Want of Proviſion on account of the Abſence of their Men. I have therefore agreable to your Letter this Day ſupplyed the Women of ſaid Village with a Quantity of Proviſions ſuppoſed to ſerve them till the Return of their Men, which I dare ſay will meet with the Generals Approbation, it being ſo very neceſſary and prudent to treat them with Civility at this preſent Juncture, which is the moſt effectual Method of gaining their Affection and of cours to promote the good of the Service.

I had the Satiſfaction of ſeeing Capt. Bull when the Priſoners paſſed here, whom I think the beſt looking Indian I ever ſaw. He is quite the fine Gentleman.

The Succeſs that attends the Partys that you have ſent out gives me infinite Pleaſure, as it muſt to every Perſon that has the good of the Service at Heart, and heartily wiſh that the like good Fortune may conſtantly accompany your unwearied Attention to his Majeſtys Service.

I hope Mr. Johnſon has remembered to apologize my going away ſo abruptly from your Houſe the Morning I left it without my paying my Reſpects to you, which I beg you will excuſe as I was afraid of diſturbing you ſo early in the Morning.

I am with the greateſt Eſteem Sir, your moſt obedient, humble Servant. JOHN CAMPBELL.

P. S.

P. S. I have received Orders from the Gen[ll] to be in Readineſs to take the Field with the 17th Regiment next Campaign.

Letter from Whitham Marſh to Sir William Johnſon.

[MSS. of Sir William Johnſon, viii.]

BAYARD HALL, Ap[l] 2d, 1764. }
¾ p. Merid. }

SIR:

ALTHO I had not the Happineſs of receiving ſome more agreeable News by Capt. Poſt, yet I cannot help acquainting you that laſt Monday I viſited Capt. Bull in Jail. He confeſſes the Shawaneze are Raſcals, and that the Chenuſſaes ſent for him and other Delawares. This was confirmed in the Morning of this Day in preſence Mr. Nic's Bayard, Sen[r] at the Jail by *Joe Newtimas*, who may remember at Eaſton. When I aſked whether any *white Men* of Pennſylvania (you well know who I mean) had deſired them (y[e] Delawares) to ſtrike us, Joe anſwered, *he did not underſtand the Queſtion.* Bull owned there were 22 Ind[s] who made Inroads into the Jerſeys, by whom poor Weſtbroke (at whoſe Houſe we lay'd) was killed. I much want to get at the Bottom of the Delaware Scheme, I am ſure ſome *quaking Devils* originated the Buſineſs. Excuſe me Sir, for ſaying no more now, as the Poſt Rider waits in the Entry. I am with all due Deference and Reſpects to yo[r] Families y[r]

Moſt obed[t] & humble Serv[t]

WITHAM MARSH.

P. S. Darlington ſends by me when I embark a great Curioſity of Shellwork. It is a Grotto.

Letter

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to General Amherſt.

ALBANY, 6th April, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I HAVE received your Excellencys Packett of the 1ſt Inſtant and ſhall obay your Commands in every thing in my Power. I have already inform'd your Excellency that Major Hogan could not enliſt but ſixty Men to ſerve to the firſt of May, & that they were not fit for Service; and I may now add, that they cant get any more this way, nor have they try'd for ſome Time paſt.

That I may know the exact Number of Boats to take from Schenectady, I beg to know if there is any more Troops to go beſides the following, viz:

17th Regiment,	314 including the Draughts.
Yorkers,	300
Connecticut,	250
Jerſeys,	240
Canada,	300
	1404

I ſet the 17th Regiment at 314, as I am aſſur'd they can not at this Time make out but 140 Men fit to go on Service, but they have ſome which may do in Garriſon.

What Exploits may be expected of 1400 Men, one half of them new raiſed Provincials, and the half of the other half but lately the Subjects of the French King, acting in the Center of the Savages ſurrounding the great Lakes, known to be our inveterate Enemies, I know not, but ſure I am, if the whole were of the beſt Troops his Majeſty has, the Number is far from being equal to

Service; however it is my Duty to obay and to doe the beſt I can for the Service. After the 55th has given 174 Men to the 17th, they will have about 230 good Men left. If I could be allowed two Detachments of 50 each out of them, to be replaced from the Provincials, it would be of great ſervice, but your Excellency is the beſt Judge and I hope will excuſe this Liberty.

I mentioned your Excellency there was but 50 Barrs of Powder here, including what was ſent from New York, ſince which Sir Wm. Johnſon has had ten Barrells. I beg to be allow'd ſufficient for the Service and Practice.

There is no muſkets arriv'd from New York yet & but 300 in Store here.

Permit me to aſk your Excellency if there is to be no kind of Staff allowed us.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to Major Duncan.

ALBANY, 30th April, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

SEVEN Days after the Letters from Neagara got here I received a Letter from Col. Browning, by which I find it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend the Grenadiers & another Company of the 55th Regiment from hence to Neagara, they are compleat to 45 Rank & File with two Subalterns to each, and I muſt beg of you to add to them as many Officers & non-commiſſioned Officers as you poſſibly can from your Garriſon, and to make them in every reſpect, as reſpectable as poſſible. I ſuppoſe Capt. Daly will join his Company as ſoon as poſſible after knowing it has gone on Service.

Some

Some York Provincials are alſo on their way to you, but in order to get up the Boats I am obliged to ſend them half man'd; then you'l pleaſe alſo to ſend on to Neagara and you will be the beſt Judge what Proviſions to put in each Boat, of the whole, as they leave you.

If the Canadian Battoe Men ſhould have made their ſecond Trip from Swegache[1] before I get up and any Proviſions remains there pray ſend them back for it, or at leaſt as many of them as will be ſufficient to bring it away, and let the others puſh on to Neagara, not only to land their Proviſions at the Landing but to be employ'd in carrying the Proviſions at the Fort to Landing, &c. and if any make the third Trip they muſt do the ſame if you think it neceſſary and ſafe.

Pray endeavour to get an exact State of all the Proviſions from Swegache to Neagara as ſoon as you can, that we may provide in Time if more is wanted.

By Miſtake Lieut. Grant has taken a new Mainſail belonging to the Schooner on the Onida Lake; be ſo good to write for it by the firſt Conveyance and ſend it her.

Pray caution all the Detachments that leave you for Neagara to be watchful, for it may poſſibly happen if the Savages find they can't do much to the People employ'd at the Veſſells or on the Carrying Place they will endeavor to ſurpriſe our People on ſome Place on the Banks of Lake Ontario.

Pleaſe to let me know if the Canadian Battoe Men have Arms, if they have not and that you can ſupply

[1] Oſwegatchie, now Ogdenſburgh, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y. A flouriſhing Indian Miſſion at this Place, formed in 1749 by Francis Picquet, a Sulpitian Prieſt, was moſtly broken up by the Conqueſt of 1760. There was a ſtrongly fortified Iſland in the River three Miles below, and as it lay at the Foot of Navigation from the Lake this Station poſſeſſed great Importance.

them

them that go to Neagara with the Proviſions, pray do it.

Sir Wm. Johnſon tells me he has ſent ſome Friend Indians to aſſiſt at Neagara which will prevent your being troubled with ſo many as was firſt intended. I make no doubt but the Draughts & Yorkers are near leaving Oſwego for Neagara and that you gave the Arms with the Draughts. I will ſettle it with the Artillery Officer and Col. Campbell will give the proper Receipt for them when he gets to Oſwego.

Major Duncan.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to General Amherſt.

NEAGARA, 4th Auguſt, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

THE Indians of the Bay, thoſe of Arbrecroche, ſome Cheppawas & Miſſiſſages now here have ſo ſettled Matters with Sir William Johnſon, that he acquainted me he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend thoſe People Home well ſatiſfied, and that it could not be done without allowing them to trade for every thing, except Arms & Ammunition, which has been allowed them as you will ſee by the encloſed Order & Regulations. The Prices were fix'd by three Indian Traders & inſpected by Sir William. For the greater Security of the Troops to be poſted at Michilimicanac, I thought adviſable to deſire Sir William to tell the above Savages they need not expect Trade to extend ſo far as this Country without Poſts & Garriſons to Protect the Traders and ſee that Juſtice is done them; on which they deſired Michilimicanac ſhould be reëſtabliſhed and that they would endeavor to protect it.

As

As to the Geneſea Indians a Meſſage arrived at Oſwego from them before we left it to Sir William Johnſon, deſiring four Boats with Proviſions ſhould be ſent them to Irondequoit in which Part of them would proceed with all the Engliſh Priſoners they had to this Place. The Boats & Proviſions by Sir Williams deſire I ordered thither directly, but they were ſo far from keeping their Words, that they were not there to receive them, but on being ſent to, ſent Men & Horſes for the Proviſions. For ſome Time after this, the Accounts we had from them were, that they ſeem'd more inclinable not to keep the Peace they made laſt Winter but continue the War; but at length they finding the Troops remaining here & ſuſpecting it was on their Account and having no Time to hunt for Proviſions & thereby ſtarving, they took the Reſolution to ſet out for this Place in different Parties, and the 18th Inſtant we were informed of their being on the way, but that they were bringing but four of our People inſtead of thirty which they had Priſoners amongſt them with many other Circumſtances ſhowing plainly Neceſſity only makes them ſubmit more than Inclination; whereupon Sir William & myſelf were of Opinion, that ſuffering any longer ſuch Inſults might or would be attended with bad Conſequences, at this Time in particular, as the Eyes of the upper Nations was upon us and would judge of our Strength & Spirit from what paſſ'd upon this Occaſion, and that it was for his Majeſtys Service we ſhould ſend them Word that unleſs they would punctually fulfill every Article they promiſ'd at the making the Peace laſt Winter, they had no Buſineſs and that we did not deſire to ſee them; and determin'd alſo, if they return'd, it was abſolutely neceſſary to march againſt them and treat them as they deſerve. It appears to me, the true Cauſe or Reaſon for

for this Conduct of the Senecas proceeds from their utter Abhorrence to us, that they do not think the other Part of the Six Nations in general will hurt them, that we live a great Diſtance from them & that the Shawanes, Delawares & their Friends can do them great Damage, and conſequently it is their Intereſt to be well with the latter. But to return to their Conduct; on the 21ſt July they ſent in two Men here to tell us, that upon receiving the Meſſage we ſent them, they had ſent off Runners to bring in all the Priſoners and that the principal Part of their Men, Women and Children would be here the 23d, and on that Day came in about 60 Men with about 150 Women & Children, and ſaid the Remainder would immediately follow and do every thing that could be deſired of them; but they did not arrive untill the 1ſt Inſtant with nine Priſoners only; nor would they have been here then had they not fear'd we ſhould march againſt them, which they were ſeveral times given to underſtand. The 2d Sir William Johnſon called them together, they acknowledged their Faults and inſiſt on it that they will be very good for the Time to come, and that they will deliver up the King and War Chief of the Delawares and Shawanes & be amenable for the future Conduct of the Reſt which they took under their Protection this Spring, provided we grant them Peace alſo, which is agreed to. I expect to ſee this Place clear of Savages in a Day or two ſo as to be able to proceed with Troops to the weſtward; and I think it prudent to take with me as many Indian Warriors as will go, it being certain the Savages round Detroit, &c. will take it much amiſs in them, which if properly managed will be of infinite Service to the Nation whenever either thoſe to the weſtward or five Nations break out again; their additional Expence in going on will only be

be Proviſions, and altho' one half or more may be ſuſpected of loving their own Color better than us, ſtill I think it my Duty to riſk it for the Advantages which may attend it hereafter. It will be impoſſible to know the Numbers of them until they are in the Boats.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to General Amherſt.

NIAGARA, 5th Auguſt, 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I HAVE received your Excellency's Letter of the 2d Inſtant and I will ſend to the Savages of the Illinois as ſoon as I get to Detroit and ſhall not fail to do all I can for Pontiac. You will ſee by the incloſed Letter from Major Gladwin, the Sanduſky Savages have lately offer'd to make Peace; had I not been ſtopt here, I ſhould not have received that Letter & perhaps might have had the good Fortune to have cut up that Band, which I think would have been more for the Public good than making Peace with them.

From very good Information I find it impoſſible to get to the Siotio River by Water, but from Priſq Iſle Shataquau and ſo round by Fort Pitt, which would take up ſo much Time; even was there Water at this Seaſon, which there is not for many Miles at firſt ſetting off, that I do not think we ſhall have time to undertake it, and I have great Reaſon to think Major Gladwin has been miſinformed, when told that the Shawanes & Delawares Indians were but two Days march from Sanduſky, as the ſame Savages who gave him the Information now tell me that they are ſtill at their old Caſtle near the Ohio, except a few, and this is confirmed by others. But you may depend upon my

my marching to them by Land if it is poſſible for us to undertake it, which perhaps may be about the Time Col. Bouquett on the move this way.

I am not without Hopes of falling on Mr. Pondiac's Friends and ſhall puſh firſt for that. The Putewatamas have alſo offeerd Peace, which I am ſorry for, as I think I could not well fail of making them repent of what they have done as well as thoſe of Sanduſky, if not prevented by being ſo late.

Untill I came here no Place of Security for the Veſſels of this and of Lake Erie was found and they were under the Neceſſity of coming to anchor in the open Lake & expoſed to every Storm & to be loſt; add to this they had more than twenty Miles to ſend for their Loading; but on examining the north Shore a proper Place has been found to ſecure the Veſſells by the help of a Wharf juſt above the Rapids; a Poſt is now building there & all that can be done towards finiſhing under our Circumſtances this Seaſon will be done; and to avoid giving Offence to the Senecas Savages to whom the Land belongs, I have deſired S. Wm. Johnſon to aſk it of them and they have granted it.

I encloſe your Ex^{l} Returns of the Troops with a Plan & Report of what we have done for the Security of the Carrying Place & Veſſells from hence to the Rapids on Lake Erie.

P. S. I can not discarge the Teamſter & Waggoner altho' that Buſineſs is done, being obliged to employ them at clearing the Wood of each Side the Road over the Carrying Place, Battoeing Proviſions to Fort Erie, making Hay, &c. and have employ which is abſolutely neceſſary for many more than I had then.

This Inſtant I have received the encloſed from Major Gladwin, ſaying the Outawas aſk Peace & have brought

brought in three Priſoners. Fear has brought all theſe Civilities about, but how long they will laſt when the Danger is over Time muſt tell. The encloſed Staff of the Baker here will appear ſtrong to your Exl. and believe you will approve of my ordering the Man to be paid no more than what he receives from the Troops & direct Mr. Lake to pay it being a great Saving to the Crown.

Col B. to the General, Niagara.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to General Gage.

PRESQUE ISLE, 14 Aug. 1764.

DEAR SIR:

AGREEABLE to your Inſtructions to grant Peace & His Majeſtys Protection to ſuch Savages who ſhall lay down their Arms & beg for Peace, I encloſe you what has paſſ'd between me & the Deputys of all the Nations of Indians, who inhabit the Lands of Sanduſky, Scioto Plains, Muſkinhem, the Ohio, Preſque Iſle, &c. and your Excellency may depend upon my marching to the Plains of Scioto if I find they intend to play me the leaſt foul Trick. Surrounded as I ſhall ſoon be by Numbers of Savages who aſk Peace from Fear only, makes it impoſſible for me to fix any other Plan than acting as Circumſtances occaſion, ſo that I can now only ſay that I ſhall do every thing in my Power for the Honor of His Majeſtys Arms & the Benefit of the Nation. I am, &c.

J. BRADSTREET.

P. S. I ſend this by the way of Fort Pitt; out of 574 Indians which was ſaid at Niagara I ſhould have with me, we have 255, 100 of whom belong to Canada.

His Excell. Gen. Gage,

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to Gov. John Penn.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 155.]

PRESQUE ISLE, 14 AUG. 1764.

To Governor Penn.

SIR:

AS it may be agreeable to you and the People under your Government to know as ſoon as poſſible of the Peace concluded with all the Nations of Indians, who have done you ſo much Damage, I encloſe you a Copy of what has paſſed on the Occaſion.

I am, &c.

JNO. BRADSTREET.

P. S. Perhaps under preſent Circumſtances of the Troops acting from your Quarter and the advanc'd Seaſon, it may be agreeable to the ſouthern Governments to have early Information of this Affair in which you will pleaſe ſo act as may be moſt agreeable to you.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to Colonel Bouquett.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 159.]

PRESQUE ISLE, 14th Aug. 1764.

SIR:

AGREEABLE to Gen. Gages Orders to me to grant Peace and His Majeſtys Protection to all Savages that may lay down their Arms & beg for Peace, I encloſe you what has paſſ'd between me and the Deputys of all the Nations of Indians who inhabit the Lands of Sanduſky, the Scioto Plains, Muſkinham, the Ohio, near this Place, &c. and doubt not if you are

are in readyneſs to march you will firſt receive Gen. Gages Directions how you are to act after his receiving my Letters and Articles of Peace.

I am, &c.

JNO. BRADSTREET.

Col. Bouquett.

PRESQUE ISLE. 14th Aug. 1764.

SIR:

I SEND you enclof'd Copy of a Peace I have made with all the Nations of Savages upon the Banks of the Ohio, Scioto Plains, &., &c., &c., and Letters for Gen. Gage, &c. which I muſt deſire you to forward with the utmoſt Diſpatch.

I am, &c.

JNO. BRADSTREET.

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to Sir Wm. Johnſon.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS.]

DETROIT, 28th Aug. 1764.

DEAR SIR:

I HAVE only Time to ſay by Major Gladwin we have ſhown the Savages in this Quarter we could have cut them up in Part at leaſt had they not aſk'd Peace, that the Outawas, Petewatamas, &c. Chepewas are to be all in ſix or ſeven Days to end the general Peace & comply with every thing I demand, amongſt which Bondeac is to be given up to be ſent down to the Seacoaſt & maintain'd at his Majeſtys Expence the Remainder of his Days. Major Gladwin will tell your Ex. the ſad State of this Place reſpecting the Quarters for

for the Troops. I ſhall do all I can towards building Barracks, it being abſolutely neceſſary. The Troops you ordered for to Garriſon Michilimicanack with two Companys of fifty Men each which I have raiſed out of the Inhabitants here, go of to morrow and one of the Veſſells ſhall be got into Lake Huron, tho' no more than ſix feet Water is as yet found over the Barr in Lake St. Clair, and no Pains ſhall be wanting to know how to fix the Navigation from Neagara Falls to Michigan Lake, &c.

Incloſed you have a Copy of the Peace made with the Shawanes, &c. and I ſhall be at Sanduſky at the Time appointed for the Chiefs & Priſoners to be there & to march againſt them to Scioto if they do not fulfill their Engagements.

From very good Information I found neceſſary to give the Inhabitants & Savages of the Elliones & the Nations on this Side of it to the Miames to know that unleſs they carry themſelves well to His Majeſtys Troops who were to take Poſſeſſion of that Country, they might expect to hear from us and y^e^ Savages of the Six Nations, thoſe of Canada, the Shawanes, &c. that we have made Peace with, together with the Nations ſurrounding this Place ſoon, for which Purpoſe I have ſent Capt. Morris of 17^th^ Regiment and Savages with the uſual Belts. Should Capt Morris ſucceed he is to puſh on to all the Nations of Savages on the Banks of the Miſſiſippi to the Sea, as your Ex. will ſee by his Inſtructions a Copy of which is herein encloſed, as alſo the Oath the Inhabitants are to take.

Letter

Letter from Colonel Bradſtreet to Lieut. Sinclair.

DETROIT, 12th Sept. 1764.

SIR:

YOU are hereby requir'd and directed the Beginning of May next to receive on board the Schooner Gladwin a Load of Proviſions for the Garriſon of Michilimicanack & with it proceed to that Place, and as ſoon as you have delivered it you are to ſail for the Bottom of the Bay where we had a Fort, & from thence round the Lake Michigan, ſteering up the River St. Joſephs as far as you can, making throughout the whole Voyage ſuch Remarks & Obſervations as the Importance of the Service you are ordered on requires for the Safety of the future Navigation of thoſe Lakes, obſerving the ſame on Lake Huron, the whole of which you will report in Writing to Lt. Col. Campbell or Officer commanding here on your Return and receive from him Directions for your further Conduct.

As you will doubtleſs ſee many Savages before you return you will inform them, that the Reaſon of your ſailing round thoſe Lakes is to find out if it is practicable for Veſſels agreeable to my Promiſe to them at Neagara.

I am, &c.

J. B.

Lt. Sinclair.

Letter

Letter from Col. Bradſtreet to Lt. Col. Campbell.

[Bradſtreet and Amherſt MSS., p. 155.]

SANDUSKY, 10th Oct. 1764.

To Lt. Col. Campbell.

SIR:

YOUR Letter by Chain, without Date, I have received and I have great Pleaſure to find you have in ſo ſhort a Time gained ſo much Influence over the Indians as you mention. I doubt not but you will improve it as His Majeſtys Service much requires it at this Time to correct the Shawanes & Delawares; but I muſt obſerve for the good of the Service, that it is abſolutely neceſſary that every Perſon that may have Influence with the Indians ſhould be employ'd to gain their Affection and to engage them not only to keep the Peace with us but act for us againſt the Kings Enemies. The Savages love the Inhabitants of Detroit in general and the latter may by gentle Treatment be brought to exert themſelves in our Favor with the former with little or no Expence to Government; but after all, Affability & Attention in the Officer commanding at Detroit is abſolutely neceſſary, to the Savages in general, particularly thoſe going out to War, without which all will go wrong. You will pleaſe to uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to make up & ſend out againſt the Shawanes & Delawares all the Parties of Indians in Friendſhip with us you can poſſibly collect & continue it until further Orders, unleſs you ſhall receive Letters from Col. Bouquett telling you to deſiſt, he having made Peace with thoſe two Nations of Savages, the Shawanes & Delawares, & you are to fit out all ſuch Parties as you ſend out againſt thoſe two

two Nations in the Manner the French did thoſe Indians they ſent to War, and pay for every Scalp or Priſoner brought in by them, you ſend out four Blankets, four ſhirts, four Pair of Stockings and one Pound of Paint. The Goods wanted for this Service you are to purchaſe as Occaſion requires and add it to your other public Accounts. You will alſo employ ſuch of the Inhabitants of Detroit in each Party as you think can be truſted. Mr. Royome, that was with Capt. Morris, offers his Service. I ſhall ſend you what I can from Niagara this Fall, & ſet off for that Place this Day. Much depends upon the Manner you receive thoſe Indians now going againſt the Delawares on their Return; if they do any thing pay them for each Scalp or Priſoner as above mentioned, & if not ſucceſſful be kind & give them what will ſend them Home ſatiſfied, with ſome Rum to the Chief of the Party. At the Requeſt of the Ottawas, Chepewas, etc. I have appointed *Chain* an Interpreter to thoſe Nations, he is much beloved by them & will be of great uſe in getting Parties to go out & go with them when neceſſary. You will allow him one Mans Proviſion to be given to his Mother when he is on Service & pay him the ſame Pay and in the ſame way as you do the other Interpreters. You have encloſed Copy of my Letter to the Officer commanding the Places at Fort Cheſter with the Inſtructions to Godfroy & Maiſonville whom I order thither & when they return the latter may proceed to me with the Anſwer if he thinks proper, otherwiſe you will forward the Officers Letter and the Anſwer from the Indian Nations they ſpeake with.

You have the Copy of the Peace, &c. with the Hurons on of this Place to be added to the one made at Detroit, and it being highly neceſſary to acquaint all the Nations of Indians we poſſibly can that our

our continuing the War with the Shawanes, &c. is owing to their ſending out Parties, killing and taking our People Priſoners after having ſued for Peace and neglecting to come to Sanduſky with their Priſoners & Chiefs to ratify that Peace agreeable to their . . . . . .

You will therefore uſe every Means in your Power for that Purpoſe, and I ſend an Order to Mr. Morſac having great Influence, he being well acquainted with the upper Nations, to proceed to the Falls of St. Marys for that Purpoſe, alſo as you will ſee by the Copy of his Inſtructions herein encloſed, all Paſſes that I thought proper to give when I left Detroit for carrying on the Ind^{n} Trade you will allow to be carry'd into Execution, giving Inſtructions to the People to acquaint all the Indians when they go of the perfiduous Behaviour of the Shawanes & Delawares, and to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent any bad Impreſſions being on them by the . . . .

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